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RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND THE FUNCTION OF SEVEN SELECTED HIGH RISES IN CENTRAL EDMONTON

by

© JACQUELINE GREEN HAYTER

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Master of Arts

Department of Geography

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall, 1973

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND THE FUNCTION OF SEVEN SELECTED HIGH RISES IN CENTRAL EDMONTON submitted by Jacqueline Green Hayter in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Supervisor

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Date July 31, 1973

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the residential function of seven selected high rise apartments in Central Edmonton. It is focussed on the identification and testing of relationships among the characteristics of residents in terms of age, household size, household composition, occupation and residential mobility patterns. That is, high rise function was analysed from the perspective of the family life cycle scheme and residential mobility.

Two main sets of data were used in the analysis. First, tenant application forms provided data on the household characteristics of past and present residents; in most cases, these covered the entire life of the high rise. Second, a questionnaire survey provided more detailed information on the household characteristics and the past and probably mobility patterns, of a sample of residents.

As a whole, residents attracted to the selected high rises shared broadly similar characteristics as identified by stage in the family life cycle. In particular residents in the later and earlier stages of the family life cycle were heavily represented. Relatively high mobility patterns were also displayed. Individually, the high rises differed in function; this was exemplified by the patterning of residents among high rises according to age and household type. The individual functions of high rises were further established by variations in residents' past length of stay, present length of stay, type of past residence occupied, past tenure status and frequency of past moves. Older

households in the later stages of the family life cycle frequently dominated the resident profile of specific high rises, and younger households were similarly attracted to others. This specialization in resident mobility characteristics influenced the function of the high rise as turnover rates were higher for those high rises dominated by residents in the earlier stages of the family life cycle. These younger households also anticipated a move to other rental housing types, but ultimately aspired to non-rental housing. On the other hand, older households in the later stages of the family life cycle had frequently migrated from single family homes in response to contracting housing needs and had little intention of changing their present rental status.

Reasons for move, and search for and evaluation of present housing choice, differed according to stage in the family life cycle and the distance moved. Inter-urban migrants moved because of better working opportunities while dissatisfaction with past housing was the main stimulus to move for intra-urban migrants. Younger households considered their present housing choice as a transitional stage in their housing requirements. Older households were satisfied with their present housing choice and considered the high rise as a more permanent place of residence. These differences were expressed in variations in the search and evaluation procedures involved in selecting their present high rise unit, and in their future intention to move.

Through an examination of several selected high rises, it is shown that high rises as a whole attract residents distinct from other urban residents, and that individual high rises also tend to specialize

in terms of the resident they attract. To an important degree, these internal differences relate to the mobility characteristics of high rise residents.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The high rise apartment building is an outstanding addition to the urban landscape. In recent years, rental apartment units, and particularly high rise apartment units, have surpassed single-family dwelling starts in Canadian urban areas. For example, apartment units represented approximately 53 per cent of the total residential construction starts in 1969, whereas they accounted for only twenty per cent in 1961 (C.M.H.C., 1961, 1969). This rapid rate of growth of high density residential construction is related to structural changes in both the demand and supply sides of the housing market. On the demand side, changes in consumer preferences and in the demographic structure of the population have favoured an increase in apartment construction. On the supply side, apartment development has been encouraged by the high cost of serviced land, the high cost of redevelopment in older housing areas, improvements in building techniques for multi-storey structures and economies of scale associated with the construction of a large number of dwelling units in a single complex (Bourne, 1968). This thesis, however, focuses particularly on the demand for high density apartment dwellings in order to contribute some insights into the residential function of high rises with particular reference to one Canadian city, namely Edmonton, Alberta.

The study is limited to seven selected high rise apartments in central Edmonton, in an attempt to identify their functional characteristics, defined in terms of the residential mobility patterns of their inhabitants. The identification and testing of relationships between the function of high rises and the mobility of residents, classified according to the various stages of the family life cycle, therefore constitutes the research theme. Function, as defined by the Oxford Dictionary, is the "activity proper to anything, mode of action by which it fulfils its purpose." Adapting this definition for the purpose of this thesis, function is interpreted as the social and economic activities which are carried on in specific buildings, and their relationships with other buildings and activity areas. Mobility is defined broadly as a "permanent or semi-permanent change in residence" (Lee, 1966, p. 49), while stage in the family life cycle refers to the temporal position of a person in the sequence of childhood, premarriage, marriage, childbearing, and later life (Foote, et al., 1960, pp. 95-118). By presenting an analysis of the residential mobility of high rise dwellers it is hoped that functional differences among high rises, and between high rises and other urban residences, can be demonstrated. Since emphasis is placed on the mobility of residents at different stages in the family life cycle, this thesis is more concerned with an interpretation of the function of high rises than with an analysis of their relative location within the residential spatial structure of the city.

METHODOLOGY

In broad terms, this thesis required data to be obtained on the socio-economic characteristics, residential patterns and residential choices of past and present high rise residents. In order to systematize the collection of information and to define the limits and scope of the study, a research design was derived and followed. This research design concerned the selection of study units (high rises), sampling procedures to determine the occupants to be interviewed, formulation of a questionnaire and methods of analysis.

Selection of Study Sample

The principal factor in the selection of the study sample was that the high rises should share broadly common locational characteristics to reduce the influence of relative location variables in the definition of a function of a high rise. Given this constraint, attention was focussed on a group of high rises situated on the north and south banks of the North Saskatchewan River. All are in close proximity to the CBD and occupy 'high amenity' sites, especially in terms of view.

At the time of the study, August 1969, thirteen high rises occupied river valley sites. Initially the author went to each high rise, contacted the manager or manageress, and tried to obtain their consent to carry out the study. Unfortunately, entry into only one of these high rises was gained by this method, some of the managers feeling that the study would be interesting but impossible unless approval was given by the management and some totally rejecting the idea. After this initial

impasse, contact was established with Mr. J. Lucas of Montreal Trust, and he kindly introduced the author to the owners of nine of the remaining twelve high rises. The owners of the other three could not be contacted. Of the nine high rises that access was gained to, three were rejected because the management did not require tenants to fill out application forms, because they used inaccurate methods of recording past and present occupants' full names, and because of their reluctance to divulge information on the application forms. This left seven high rises in which the author had free access to all the application forms filled out by residents, dating back to their first occupancy. Permission to carry out a questionnaire survey was also available for all seven. The omission of the remaining six high rises, however, introduces a potential source of bias into the analysis and this will be discussed in the final chapter.

Within each of the selected seven high rises the resident population was sampled for the purpose of carrying out a questionnaire survey. A stratified random sample was chosen because it provides a representative fraction of residents occupying each of the seven selected high rises and of residents occupying unit types within each high rise. The total population size was 654 apartment units and/or households. This population was stratified by high rise and by type of suite (namely bachelor, one-bedroom, two-bedroom). From each stratum a 40 per cent sample was randomly chosen, with the exception of three-bedroom and penthouse suites, all of which were included because they were so few in number.

The breakdown of unit type according to each high rise and the population sampled in each stratum are indicated in Table 1.1. Of the 268 households selected in the sampling design, interviews were successfully completed with 224 or 84.4 per cent of the total. Of the 15.6 per cent which were unobtainable, Table 1.2 indicates the reasons and lists the non-response sample according to suite type and high rise. Direct refusals represented 5.9 per cent of the sample, absences 3.3 per cent, illness 1.5 per cent and vacancies 3.3 per cent. There was some variation in the non-response sample among the high rises; for example, there was 10.8 per cent non-response in the Crestview and 5.1 per cent in the Ambassador. However, for several reasons, there was no substitution mechanism to replace the non-responses. The method of carrying out the questionnaire was very time consuming and there was not enough time to substitute for those households which did not respond due to illness, absence or direct refusals. Furthermore, vacancies were considered as an indication of how the high rise functions in its ability to attract tenants. While this lack of substitution may have introduced some bias into the questionnaire results, the similarity between the results derived from the high rise application form data and the questionnaire data suggests some evidence for the representativeness of the sampled population (see Chapter IV).

Sources of Data

Data were derived from several sources, the two main ones being tenant application forms and a questionnaire survey. Other data were obtained from a land use field survey, assessment records, Henderson's Directory and the telephone directory.

Table 1.1--Stratified Random Sample Distribution by High Rise and Type of Suite

	Type of Suite											
	Bachelor		1-bedroom		2-bedroom		3-bedroom		Penthouse		Total	
HIGH RISE		Sample		Sample		Sample		Sample		Sample		Sample
North Side												
Valleyview	...	...	15	6	30	12	...	...	...	...	45	18
Panorama	10	4	49	20	26	10	3	3	2	2	90	39
Crestview	25	10	25	10	24	10	...	...	...	...	74	30
Bristol Towers	14	6	15	6	16	6	...	...	2	2	47	20
Park	...	...	20	8	24	10	1	1	4	4	49	23
Sub-Total	49	20	125	50	119	48	4	4	8	8	305	130
South Side												
Ambassador	39	16	56	22	18	7	4	4	...	...	117	49
Strathcona	...	...	185	74	37	15	...	...	...	...	222	89
Sub-Total	39	16	241	96	55	22	4	4	...	...	339	138
TOTAL	88	36	366	146	174	70	8	8	8	8	644	268

Table 1.2--Distribution of Suites Not Surveyed and Reasons

	Reasons													
	Refusals			Away			Vacant			Sick			Could not Contact	Total
HIGH RISE	Bach	1-bed	2-bed	Bach	1-bed	2-bed	Bach	1-bed	2-bed	Bach	1-bed	P.H.	1:2 bed	
Panorama	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	5
Park	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3
Crestview	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	8
Bristol Towers	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4
Valleyview	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
Ambassador	..	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	6
Strathcona House	.	1	2	..	2	..	..	4	1	..	..	..	4	14
TOTAL	3	9	5	1	3	5	1	5	3	1	2	1	5	44
Percentage		38.6			20.4			20.4			9.2		11.4	100.0

Application Forms. The tenant application forms provided data on all those residents who had resided in the selected high rises since they were built or, in one case, from the time management required tenant application forms. Confidential tenant application forms were filled out by the tenants of all but one high rise, and are required by management as a matter of policy. They record information on marital status, age, household size, occupation, place of work, income and past location of residence. When the tenant vacated the unit, future place of residence was frequently entered on the application form as well. Data gathering from these application forms was completed in July and August of 1969.

Information used from these application forms was age of household head or eldest member, marital status, size of household, occupation, location of past residence and, for those tenants who had migrated from the high rise, future location of residence. Information not used from these application forms included income, place of work, and, in the case of a two- or more-person non-family household, data pertaining to younger members. Income is highly associated with occupational class and, in any case, was only infrequently given. Place of work was not considered vital in analysing residential mobility.

Where an incomplete application form was turned in, and this applied to only a small percentage of households, other data sources were used to fill the gap. In these cases, the most frequent data requirement was the place of residence upon leaving the high rise. Another gap, although very infrequent, was the location of last previous residence prior to moving to the high rise.

The data sources used to correct these deficiencies were Henderson's Directory and the City Telephone Directory. Henderson's Directory was used for finding occupation and location of residence, while the telephone directory was used for finding location of residence when this could not be identified in the Henderson's Directory. One major defect in Henderson's Directory is that it records residence at one-year intervals, thereby missing those people who may have moved more than once during that period. The telephone directory is restricted to those who subscribe to the company for a telephone and full names are usually not given; it, too, comes out only once a year. Fortunately, though both these sources provided some necessary information, they did not have to be relied upon greatly.

As Table 1.3 indicates, information was gathered from the 954 application forms available from six high rises. The number of application forms varied by high rise as a result of three factors: the time the high rise had been open for occupancy; the number of suites; and the turnover of residents.

A few problems occurred in the use of the application forms. One was the incomplete coverage in some buildings. In the case of the Ambassador, consistent records from the high rise's opening were not kept and were only started due to a change in management and ownership. Since this ownership change in 1967, however, application forms were required making the appropriate data available. In the case of the Crestview, although it was open for occupancy in the latter part of 1961, application forms for all units were not kept until the latter part of

1964. However, these were the only high rises where complete application form data were not available. In the case of the Valleyview Manor application forms were not required at all, but identical information was kindly provided by the manageress, Mrs. Snowball.

Table 1.3--Number of Application Forms by High Rise

High Rise	No. of Suites	No. of Application Forms
Panorama	90	107
Crestview	74	154
Bristol Towers	47	85
Park	49	74
Strathcona House	222	248
Ambassador	117	286
		954
Valleyview Manor*	45	

* No application forms but equivalent information was obtained from the manageress.

Complete data were thus available for five high rises since occupancy and for two high rises from a later date. The application forms, in fact, provided an extremely valuable source of information for two main reasons. As the problem of this thesis is to test relationships between function and mobility of residents, it was considered

important to know who resided in these units, and for how long, since the respective high rises have been renting units. Second, this application form data was considered important as a standard of comparison for the questionnaire data which was taken at one point in time. Henceforth, the data derived from these tenant application forms will be called the High Rise Census Data (HRCD).

The Questionnaire. To determine further characteristics of these high rise residents and their mobility patterns, a sample of the resident population was interviewed using a questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire was to gain further insight into the type of resident the high rise attracts, particularly in those aspects of their activity patterns and residential mobility characteristics that the application forms did not reveal.

A pilot survey was carried out in high rises other than the ones under study, during January 1970. The initial questionnaire was revised and designed around four major categories: characteristics of apartment residents (age, marital status, education, relation between household members); work location and occupation; the apartment itself (its location and internal features related to the unit and the resident's choice); and the past and future housing behaviour of the residents (Appendix A).

All the interviews were conducted in February, March and April 1970. The procedure for interviewing the tenants in the sample units was time-consuming but invaluable. The author first visited the owner of each high rise, explained the questionnaire and received permission

to proceed with the interviewing. The manager or manageress of each high rise was then contacted by the author, who indicated which tenants were to be interviewed. The manager/manageress corrected names of tenants where occupancy had changed, and indicated which suites were vacant or from which the tenant was absent.

A letter of introduction (Appendix B) was then mailed or distributed to the suites stating that the occupants would be contacted in the following week. The author telephoned each tenant (when they had a silent phone, contact was made using the intercom in the high rise) to arrange a suitable time for the interview. With this method of introduction, the interviews were conducted in a very hospitable atmosphere, often lasting over the allotted thirty minutes. These personal interviews provided a great deal of information about the tenants' past and future mobility and their views on high rise living, information probably unobtainable from telephone interviews or mailed questionnaires. Interviews were carried out in the suites or at the respondents' places of work, depending upon their wishes. Some of the interviews were carried out by Dr. W. S. Anderson, Marjorie Anderson, Lynn Malin, and Michelle Lefebvre, who were either friends of some of the sample or could give special assistance where English was not the first language of the respondents. They accounted for 40 of the 224 completed interviews, and the information which they obtained was completely satisfactory.

Field Survey of the Study Area. The land use survey, conducted in June 1969, covered the area where all the river valley high rises are located and extended away from the river bluff for about two or three

blocks. The survey was necessary for providing a working knowledge of the land use and site characteristics of the area in which the high rises were situated. The author also examined civic assessment records of those lots which had undergone redevelopment since 1961, to establish past land use. From this information, land use change and morphological characteristics were determined.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The broad scope of the research design involved examing the role of the high rise in terms of the characteristics of residents they attract and, in particular, their mobility characteristics. In broad outline, this initially required the identification of the characteristics of high rise residents and their principal differences from other urban residents. These resident characteristics, particularly as expressed by stage in the family life cycle, were then related to residential mobility patterns among high rises, and between high rises and other types of dwellings. Finally, an attempt was made to try to understand and explain the function of a high rise as one particular type of residential unit in the urban area.

Given this broad research scope, and in accordance with the data base and evidence derived from the literature, both theoretical and empirical, which has focused upon the aggregate characteristics of migrants and/or residential structure, several research objectives were formulated.

1. To determine the socio-economic characteristics of the high

rise residents in terms of age, household size, household composition (these variables indicating the family life cycle), and occupation, and to compare and contrast them with other urban residents.

2. To assess whether or not high rises attract residents with socio-economic characteristics that are associated with relatively high mobility rates.
3. To determine whether individual high rises specialize in their resident characteristics and whether these differences within the sampled high rises are associated with variations in mobility patterns.
4. To determine if high rises occupy a definite position in the structure of the housing market and whether patterns of mobility to and from high rises are related to residential structural type as well as to stage in the family life cycle.
5. To assess the reasons for moving and whether these reasons vary according to stage in the family life cycle, past migratory behaviour, and the distance moved, especially as expressed in the simple dichotomy of inter- and intra-urban migration.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL BASIS

In this literature review, attention is focussed upon the conceptual frameworks used in studying residential migration within the urban area, and their relationship with the function of a specific residential structure, the high rise apartment building. The function of a high rise in the total residential pattern, as indicated by flow of residents within and between the owner and rental housing market, and in terms of the segment of the population which it caters to, has received scant attention in the literature. This is an important deficiency considering the growth and importance of high density apartment dwellings.

RESIDENTIAL FUNCTION

Differences exist in the function of residential structures in the urban area. These differences are exemplified in the various types of housing found in the city, their location in the urban area, and the characteristics of their residents. The broad range of dwellings from which a household can choose varies from a single family detached house, through various forms of attached and multi-family dwellings, to the high rise. Within each of these housing markets, there is a further differentiation, that of owned or rental housing.

Traditionally, owned housing is predominantly the single-family detached house with a yard. It is usually occupied by a family. On the other hand, two-thirds of all rental units are in multi-family structures (Foote, et al., 1960, p. 141) and in contrast to the 'typical' nuclear, self-owned family home there is an indication that these rental households are poorer, smaller, less typical in composition and more crowded (Hoffman, 1961, p. 45). More specifically, renter households in multi-family structures appear to have definite characteristics in terms of household composition, age, marital status and income.

Rental Households

A variety of household-types exists among renter households. These range through single persons, households of two or more unrelated persons, married couples with or without children, and widowed, divorced or separated persons with or without children. Certain household-types, though, occur more frequently than others.

One dominant group is married couples without children where the age of the household head is over 45 years old. Other prevalent household-types are unattached individuals over 45 years of age (Foote, et al., 1960, p. 394), unattached individuals under 35 years of age, and young married couples under 35 years of age (Fiberglas, 1968). The most common household consists of one or two persons (Rapkin and Grigsby, 1960, p. 44; Fiberglas, 1968). Very few households consist of two or more unrelated individuals.

Married couples whose head is employed, regardless of age, tend to concentrate in professional, technical and managerial occupations,

(Rapkin and Grigsby, 1960, p. 45; Fiberglas, 1968). Households out of the labour force are frequently older couples or older individuals. In non-related households, which are seldom out of the labour force, the heads are more frequently employed in professional, semi-professional, and clerical positions (Fiberglas, 1968).

High Rise Units Versus Other Rental Multiple Units

Renter profiles are differentiated when related to specific rental structural types. This further disaggregates the function of rental units in terms of the residents they attract. One survey carried out in the United States, which sampled 1800 residents living in garden apartments, indicated that only 17.8 per cent of the heads of the household were over 45 years of age, while the majority were under 35 years of age. Households were predominantly married couples with or without children, non-related households representing only 24 per cent of the sample. Total household income averaged $10,000 per annum and the head was employed in professional, semi-professional, proprietory or sales occupations (Fiberglas, 1968).

A survey of row-housing units in Johnston County, Kansas, indicated that characteristics of renters varied by row-housing project (Table 2.1) (Norcross and Hyson, 1968, pp. 21-24). This difference in renter profile was attributed to price of unit, unit make-up (i.e., one-bedroom, two-bedroom) and reputation of the development. These units were not similarly located but did generally offer the same form of housing accommodation.

Table 2.1--Renter Characteristics at the Four Projects

	Mission Valley	Georgetown	Kenilworth	The Chateau
Percent married couples	33.4	46.7	64.5	80.5
Median age, household head	35	34.5	50	58.7
Per cent under age 45	65.6	76.6	32.5	10.6
Median income	$8,500	$15,200	$18,000	$28,900
Per cent college grad., men	63	65	68	27
Per cent college grad., women	41	38	44	15
Number children per family at home	.19	.12	.38	0
Per cent married, no children home	28.6	39.7	44.4	80.5
Per cent married, with children at home	4.8	7	20.1	0
Per cent single, no children	59.5	49.8	29.9	19.5
Per cent single, with children (divorcees, widows)	7.1	3.5	5.6	0
Per cent of wives with jobs	33	39	33	0

Source: Norcross and Hyson, 1968, p. 22.

With respect to high rises, a Vancouver survey indicated a polarity in renter profiles. At one extreme were young single people and young childless couples; at the other, were singles and married childless couples over 35 years of age (Vancouver City Planning Department, 1972). Hoffman found that depending upon the city and region, resident profiles were younger or were "childless, smaller households, with the head working downtown or not in the labor force, aged 35 or over, having an income of over $5,000 a year and more than half are employed in professional, technical or managerial categories" (Hoffman, 1961, p. 46).

Thus it appears that renter profiles are diverse and vary by city, region, residential structure and rent. Younger households are generally found occupying lower rental cost units, while older married couples tend to gravitate towards higher rental cost units. The household group always poorly represented is parent(s) with children.

Central High Rises Versus Other High Rises

In the previous surveys, the location of rental units varied from central city to sites adjacent to major arterial routes. A number of studies have noted some differences in residential characteristics between high rises as a result of their relative location.

In Abu-Lughood's survey of high rise residents living in newly-constructed, deluxe central city apartment buildings (city centre was defined as an area within a ten-minute radius of the CBD, measured by the fastest conventional means of transportation) in the three cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, the resident sample was restricted to those households who had recently chosen to live in

the central city but who had sufficient income to afford suburban houses (Foote, et al., 1960, pp. 388-389). She found that 85 per cent of the households were not the typical nuclear family. The two distinct household types were unattached individuals over 45 and childless married couples over 45 together representing almost 60 per cent of the sample. The predominant household size was two persons, followed closely by one-person households. Almost one-third of the single-person households were not employed and less than 22 per cent of the two- or more-person households had more than one wage earner. The majority of households had incomes exceeding $15,000 annually and, when employed, worked downtown.

Rapkin and Grigsby's (1960) survey of residents of high rent central apartments showed a similar result (Table 2.2). These households differed from other households in Philadelphia in terms of size, age and head of household, income households with children, location of work place and employment status. The authors also compared renter households of city centre with residents of similar apartment units located in outlying sections of the city (Rapkin and Grigsby, 1960, p. 52):

> The outlying structures are of equal quality but somewhat lower in rent ($35 per room as against $40 for downtown units) by virtue of their distance from the centre city. While the occupants of these units tend to have the same family type, age and occupational characteristics, on the average, they have lower incomes and a much smaller proportion work in the centre city. It would then appear that for childless renter families the combined effect of these two factors weighs heavily in the choice between a downtown and outlying location.

Melamed (1962) found that suburban high rent, high rise apartments attracted older couples who desire to reside in close proximity

Table 2.2--Selected Household Characteristics of Residents of High Rent Center-City Apartments Compared with all Households in the Philadelphia Standard Metropolitan Area, 1957

Characteristics	Per cent of center city	Per cent of SMA
One- and Two-person Households	87.2	36.7
Head of Household over 35 years old	97.8	77.8
Female Head of Household	38.6	16.1
Household without Children	94.1	49.6
Family Income over $5,000	96.1	48.9
Family Income over $10,000	50.4	9.9
Head of Household in Professional or Managerial Position	57.8	19.6
Head of Household Employed in Center City	66.5	13.6
Head of Household Unemployed or not in Labor Force	23.5	18.5

Source: Rapkin and Grigsby, 1960, p. 44.

to a child's home, and older people who want to remain in areas with which they are familiar. This study indicated that more female heads of households, who were single, widowed or divorced, lived in CBD apartments, and that city centre high rise residents predominantly worked downtown.

Residence in multi-family units and particularly high rise units is restricted to certain socio-economic groups and, in respect to income and place of work, high rise residents of city centre apartments differ from residents in suburban apartments. Because of this difference, and the indication that city centre living is associated with urbanized life styles (Johnston, 1972, p. 229), the function of the high rise differs depending upon its location in the urban area.

MOBILITY CONCEPTS

The function of a high rise is intimately involved with migration, since the interaction of the high rise with other residential structures is achieved through the movement of households. One aspect of migration is the population change which occurs within an existing stock of housing. Such a view attributes functional qualities to particular types of housing, some of which encourage long-term residence while others encourage a high degree of mobility (Cave, 1969, p. 59). Therefore, underlying the function of a high rise is the turnover of high rise occupants, length of stay and factors influencing these variables.

Another aspect of migration is concerned with the process of residential mobility. This can be approached from the viewpoint of the

decision-making processes of individuals (Brown and Moore, 1970), or within the framework of the life cycle. Both viewpoints overlap to some extent; for example, one of the dimensions of the decision-making framework is the 'stimulus to move,' frequently associated with a particular stage in the life cycle. On the other hand, a life cycle approach focusses upon the changing housing needs as families pass through various stages in their life history. As the focus of this thesis is the function of high rises, the decision-making approach to migration is not fully applicable as it is concerned with individual behaviour. The process of residential migration as related to residential function must concern itself with rates of changes, reasons for change and patterns of change.

Mobility of Rental Households

Mobility rates vary by age, education and occupation (Stone, 1969, pp. 71-102; Sullenger, 1950; Albig, 1933). Wide variations in mobility rates have been noted by Caplow (1949), while Foote (1960, p. 139) notes that "mobility rates for renters are, on the average, twice to three times as high as those for owners." This high mobility characteristic of renters, often cited in the literature, implies a repeated change of residence with little interest in settling down, suggesting that the high rise functions as a temporary form of accommodation. The mover/stayer dichotomy suggested by Goldstein (1954; also Wilkinson and Merry, 1965), in which the probability of persons leaving a place was negatively related to their length of residence, suggests that renters could be classified also in this manner. Age, also an important

determinant of mobility rates, is more prominent when associated with other variables such as past mobility, stage in the family life cycle, mobility desires and anticipated mobility (Moore, 1969; Rossi, 1955). Using a mobility index scale (adapted from Rossi), Abu-Lughood indicated that households renting their present quarters in the downtown were more mobile than households owning their present residence (Foote, et al., 1960, p. 419). However, 60 per cent of the renter households were classified as stable which indicates that many renter households do consider their residence as permanent.

Motivations for Change in Residence

There are two distinct types of migration, the long distance move (inter-urban) and the short distance move (intra-urban). Foote (1960, p. 135) notes that "most long-distance migrants are moving in hope of better working opportunities, as a result of actual job transfers or offers, or (especially if retired or in ill health) in search of a pleasanter climate." The motivating factor initiating a long distance move, therefore, appears to be mainly conditioned by economic opportunity. Ross (1962) in studying migrants to and from the central area also differentiated reasons for moves by distance.

The impetus for migration within the urban area, although partially governed by economic factors relating to the costs of relocation, is conditioned by other variables. There are numerous inducements to change place of residence, involved "on the one hand with the needs and values of the household, which change over time, and, on the other, with the characteristics of the environment, which encompasses the home, the

neighbourhood and alternative locations" (Simmons, 1968, p. 628).

Intra-urban migration, although primarily motivated by the desire to adjust housing to household needs and preferences, can also be involuntary or forced. Rossi (1955, p. 15) found that over one-quarter of the moves he examined were involuntary, coming in the aftermath of other major events such as marriage, divorce, death or sudden loss of income. Abu-Lughood and Foley estimate about 10 per cent of intra-urban moves follow the creation of new households, and another 20 per cent are involuntary, following demolition, destruction by fire, or eviction (Foote, et al., 1960, p. 135). Residential change in the urban area is predominantly voluntary, however, with economic factors acting as constraints rather than motives (Boyce, 1969, p. 23). Motivation for movement is influenced by a new set of stimulants, such as change in family life cycle, socio-economic status and life style. With every push for residential change there are also retardants, such as loss of investments, fear of unknown places, and loss of friends. Each household's sensitivities to migration stimulants and retardants is different, making the decision to move a highly personal action (Heiges, 1968, p. 27).

Intra-Urban Migration

The intra-urban migration decision can be viewed as occurring in two phases: "(1) the decision to seek a new residence; and (2) the search for and selection of a new residence" (Moore, 1972, p. 3). The first phase of this decision can be divided according to whether the householder's demand for housing is non-market-oriented, semi-market-oriented, or market-oriented (Grigsby, 1963, p. 187). The differentiation

here is among motivations to seek different housing. Non-market-oriented demand was explained previously under involuntary migration. Market-oriented demand is that which is generated by supply only, as when a household decides to move from housing which it finds satisfactory because other housing is brought to its attention by advertising, or by chance, which has an attractive attribute not previously considered by the household. While each of these types of demand is significant to the housing market, it is the third which affects the largest number of households; it also results in choices of housing type affected more by the desires of households and less by market supply.

The decision to move corresponding with semi-market-oriented and market-oriented demand has usually been attributed to four factors: the family life cycle and familism; social mobility and social mobility aspirations; the residential environment; and social and locality participation (Sabagh, Van Arsdol, and Butler, 1969).

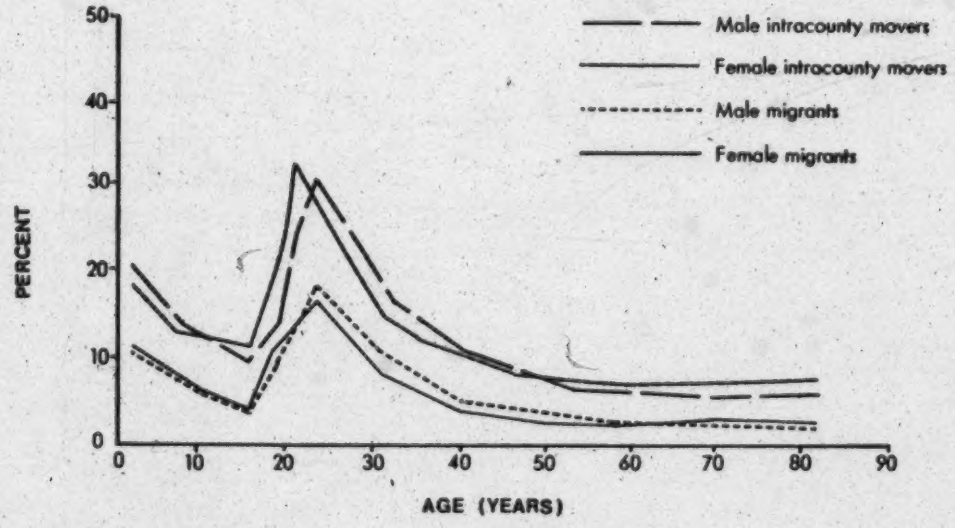
The householder's position in the life cycle is measured by his stage in a family formation scheme beginning with the pre-marriage period (Lansing and Kish, 1957, p. 513). Foote (1960, pp. 95-118), however, does not recognize this initial pre-marriage stage and has suggested the use of six stages: pre-child, child bearing, child rearing, child launching, post child and widowhood. Change in family size creates an imbalance in housing with constant space available. Rossi (1955, p. 9) concluded that the major function of mobility is to permit families to adjust their housing to the needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life-cycle changes.

The relationship between age and mobility is not as clearly defined as that between life-cycle and mobility, yet in the aggregate it is fairly well indicated (Figure 2.1). However, in a study of differential demand for city-centre multiple dwellings, Michelson (1967, p. 196) found that "age per se does not contribute significantly to the identity of the sub-groups (having different housing preferences), indicating the utility in this context of stage in the life cycle as opposed to simple age as a variable." Most research has found that when family size increases, as in a shift from pre-child to child bearing, the desire for increased space is translated into mobility more readily than when the family is decreasing in size as in post child to widowhood. Too much space is more readily tolerated than too little.

Life style includes several attitudes and values not related to socio-economic status. The element most frequently mentioned as contributing to mobility is that of familism. Originally considered by Bell (1958, p. 227), familism was defined as "a high valuation on family living; marriage at a young age, a short childless time-span after marriage, child centeredness and other such characteristics." A familistic orientation is likely to result in the movement of a household even during the relatively stable stage of child rearing if housing, neighbourhood, or local facilities are considered to be unfavourable to the welfare of children. On the other hand, a 'cosmopolitan' life style is seen as inversely related to mobility since it would lead to a greater tolerance towards the neighbourhood environment or changes in that environment (Sabadh, Van Arsdol, and Butler, 1969, p. 92).

FIGURE 2.1

ANNUAL INTRACOUNTY MOBILITY RATE AND MIGRATION RATE, BY AGE AND SEX, MARCH 1965



Source: Simons, 1968, p. 626.

Another force initiating a move is that of social mobility and social mobility aspiration. Rossi (1955, p. 179) concluded that upward mobility brings a particular sensitivity to the social aspects of location. Families whose home "no longer fitted in with their social aspirations . . . used residential mobility to bring their residence into line with their prestige needs." Further research into upward social mobility and residential mobility has yielded contradictory results. Bell (1958) has argued that familism rather than upward social mobility aspirations accounts for moves to the suburbs. Simmons (1968, p. 632) claims that if a set of social class variables was used which was complex enough that "almost everyone changed categories, only one move in a lifetime would be explained by social mobility. More effective, perhaps, are the income changes that take place without altering relative social class."

The influence of the third factor in voluntary residential mobility, the residential environment, is also unclear. Dissatisfaction with the present home due to its condition, or the deterioration of the neighbourhood may stimulate a move, but it may be impossible to dissociate this from changes in family status. For example, the acceptability of a dwelling or neighbourhood may change when children reach school age.

The final force initiating a move, social and locality participation, is even less clear. Here "stress is placed on the life style which can only be achieved through interaction with others with the same set of group-orientated values" (Moore, 1972, p. 9). A household actively involved in the community may reject migration, although a better opportunity exists

elsewhere; on the other hand, a person desiring involvement may move to an area where this wish can be fulfilled.

Cost complaints tend to be ineffective in precipitating a move unless felt in conjunction with other dissatisfactions. Lansing and Mueller (1964, p. 23) reported that most people experience an increase in housing expenditure after a move.

Another factor often cited for influencing a move is change in work place. Both Lapin (1964, p. 163) and Rossi (1955, p. 80) suggest that work location has no effect on choice of residential location for intra-urban moves. It appears that location per se (conditioned by personal reasons or the amenities of a downtown location) rather than location of work place influences the move. However, while location near work may not be the main reason why residents select centre city housing, it is likely to be a contributing factor.

The final aspect of the migration process relevant to this thesis is where migrants locate in terms of the type of housing and their search for, and selection of, a new residence. A basic determinant of location is the availability of housing opportunities, and the search for suitable vacancies is constrained by the information available to the moving family. Rossi's (1955, pp. 159-162) findings suggest that personal contact is the most effective source of this information. Moore (1972, p. 16) suggests that "the actual search for a new residence is a function of the household's information field and the distribution of vacancies."

In spite of the complexity of the selection process, a number of empirical regularities have been observed. The most significant factor

in the prediction of new location is the location of a family's former residence. Heiges (1968, p. 132) suggests that "most movement is in the form of jockeying around for a better position in the same or a similar area." Simmons (1968, p. 648) notes that "the most powerful regularity is the tendency to relocate near the origin."

The influence of life-cycle upon the direction of move is also significant. In family growth stages, the family will tend to move to areas with more amenities such as bigger yards, less congestion and more housing space. The presence of low density suburbs attracts family households for these reasons, but the influence of these needs is difficult to separate from the influence of the distribution of most of the available single family housing, that is, the outlying areas of the city.

The householder's life style also influences location. Familism biases moves towards areas where lot sizes are large, which, in general, is to peripheral locations. Consumption-orientation will tend to correspond with moves towards the city centre, and its cultural attractions. Career orientation negates familism as a location force (Bell, 1958, p. 231), and correlates slightly with a location closer to the place of work.

Type of Dwelling

The preceeding short review of intra-urban mobility and locational choice was intended to indicate some of the various influences upon choice of housing exclusive of its locational attributes. The median family might be expected to experience a housing cycle as indicated

in Table 2.3, but variations from this norm are large, as would be expected. Determinants of housing type and tenure preference are less clear. Housing choice can be considered as choice among the available options in quality, type and tenure. Where residents migrate depends not only on demand conditions and the priorities which the family assigns to different housing characteristics, but also on supply constraints and the cost and quantity of different types of housing in the city.

Table 2.3--The Median Family and Housing Cycle

Stage of family cycle	Age of husband	Family size	Income	D.U. size	Median tenure	Mobility	Locational preference
I: Pre-child (constant size)	23-24	2	$3,000	1-3	Rental	1 move to own home	Center city
II: Child-bearing (expanding size)	25-34	3-4	$4,000	3-4	Rental	High; 2-3 moves (one may be intercity)	Middle and outer rings of center city
III: Child-rearing (Constand size)	35-44	4	$4,300	6	Owned	1 move to owned home	Periphery of city or suburbs
IV: Child-launching (declining size)	45-51	4-3	$4,500	6	Owned	1 move to second home	Suburbs
V: Postchild (constant size)	52-64	2.5-2	$3,800	6	Owned	Unlikely to move	
VI: Widowed	Age of wife 61-72	1	.....	Widow relinquishes owned home and takes up residence as "subfamily" in home of a grown child			

Source: Foote, Abu-lughood, Foley, Winnick, 1960, p. 99.

Muth (1968, p. 303) found that there was "little partial correlation between income and the proportion of dwellings in single-family structures," and Michelson (1966, p. 358) found that when householders were given their choice of ideal housing, there was "no variation in the characteristics of people who chose one alternative [type] or another. The popularity of the single family house is so great that its choice is independent of any variable analyzed." Lansing and Mueller (1964, p. 48) achieved the same results (Table 2.4). Life style, income, and available housing undoubtedly interact

Table 2.4--Present, Preferred, and Planned Type of Housing

Type of Housing	Presently Occupied	Preferred	Planned
Single family house	54%	84%	68%
Multiple family dwelling	43%	14%	24%
Other	3%	1%	3%
Not ascertained	*	1%	5%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	331	331	331

* less than half of one per cent

Percentage distribution of those who plan to move within the next 5 years.

Only those cases in which a move within the metropolitan area was planned were included.

Source: Lansing and Mueller, 1964, p. 48.

to create regularities, however, since households which would prefer single-family dwellings may be forced to accept multiple units because of excessive costs, or cosmopolites may be forced to accept apartment living in order to stay as close to the CBD as they would like.

Differential tenure preferences are difficult to ascertain. The interplay between life style, income and availability of housing is probably more important to questions of tenure preference than it is to preference for type. Rental preference cannot be satisfied by familistic households desiring to live in the suburbs if all units are owner-occupied. Home ownership cannot be achieved by cosmopolites desiring city centre location if all houses are converted into rooming houses, or have been replaced by apartment buildings, or if suitable social areas are non-existent.

SUMMARY

The previous discussion has attempted to identify and discuss some of the concepts used in studies of residential migration and dwelling type preferences. An attempt has also been made to indicate some of the important factors and characteristics relating households to residential structure. With particular reference to apartments, Grigsby (1963) has noted that movers to new apartments rather than single family units were most likely to be either young couples leaving the parental home or else older families later in the life cycle moving from a single family home. Grigsby also indicated that there was more movement within the rental market than between the rental-owner

markets, indicating that most households do not make a dramatic change in the kind of housing they occupy. It remains to be determined how this affects the function of the high rise apartment and the role the high rise plays in the housing market as viewed through the family life cycle model.

CHAPTER III

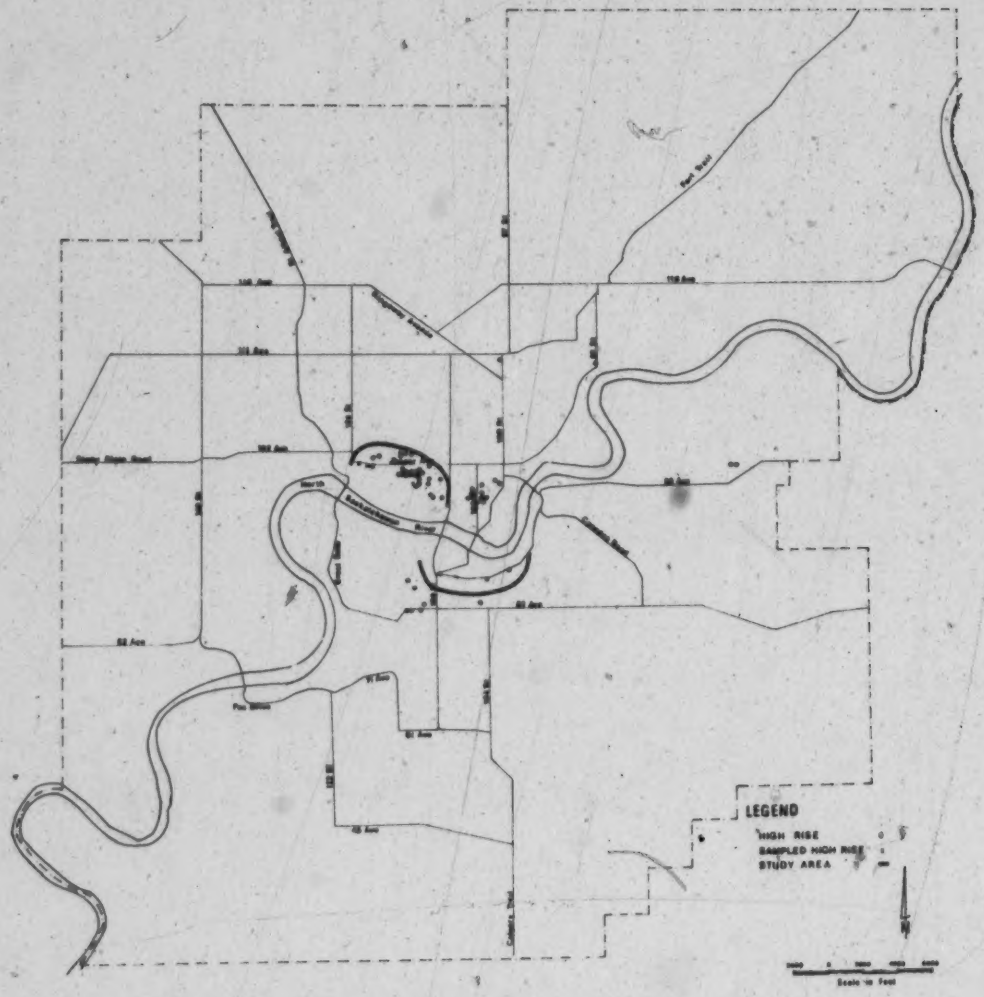
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY UNITS

As indicated in the previous chapter, the characteristics of renter households vary with their location in the urban area. Furthermore, the motivations underlying a change in residence differed with the household's life style, and with the type of residential structure and its location in the urban area. Therefore, an underlying requirement in the selection of study units was to minimize the location variable. In selecting high rises with common locational characteristics, other factors that influence the function of a high rise would become apparent.

LOCATION OF HIGH RISES

Figure 3.1 shows the distribution of high rises in Edmonton, as well as those chosen for study. Although high rise apartment construction has spread into the outlying residential areas, the major concentrations at the time of the study remained in areas near the city centre and adjacent to the university. One outstanding locational characteristic shared by a number of these high rises is their placement on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River Valley. These high rises occupy high amenity sites with panoramic views of the river valley, and ready access to recreational areas and the CBD.

FIGURE 3.1 LOCATION OF HIGH RISES IN EDMONTON, 1969



The Study Area

The selected high rises are sited on the north and south banks of the North Saskatchewan River valley in central Edmonton. Over the past decade, both areas in which the selected high rises are situated (Figure 3.2) have undergone rapid but sporadic redevelopment. Previous to any high rise construction, that is prior to 1961, the two study areas were dominated by single family homes (Figure 3.3), some of which had undergone conversion to various forms of multi-family housing.

Five of the selected high rises are on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan River (Area A) in one of Edmonton's older residential areas. Plates 3.1 and 3.2 indicate both the compactness of high rise development within study area A, which fringes the CBD, and the adjacent high rise development south of the CBD as indicated on Figure 3.1 (p. 37). Plates 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 in their proper sequence provide a closeup view of the five high rises selected for study, all situated on the river bluff. Although the predominant land use in this area is residential, there is a wide variety of other uses. Commercial land uses oriented along Jasper Avenue and 124th Street, serve residents of the area and the rest of the city. Religious, institutional, and public activities occupy large tracts of land in the area. Jasper Avenue and 100th Avenue are the major arterials linking the area to the CBD, but it is also well served by other through routes such as 116th Street, 121st Street and Victoria Park Road.

Apartment developers have capitalized on the relative accessibility and attractiveness of this area. Since 1961, 26 new high rises

FIGURE 3.2

LAND USE OF STUDY AREA 'A' IN 1969

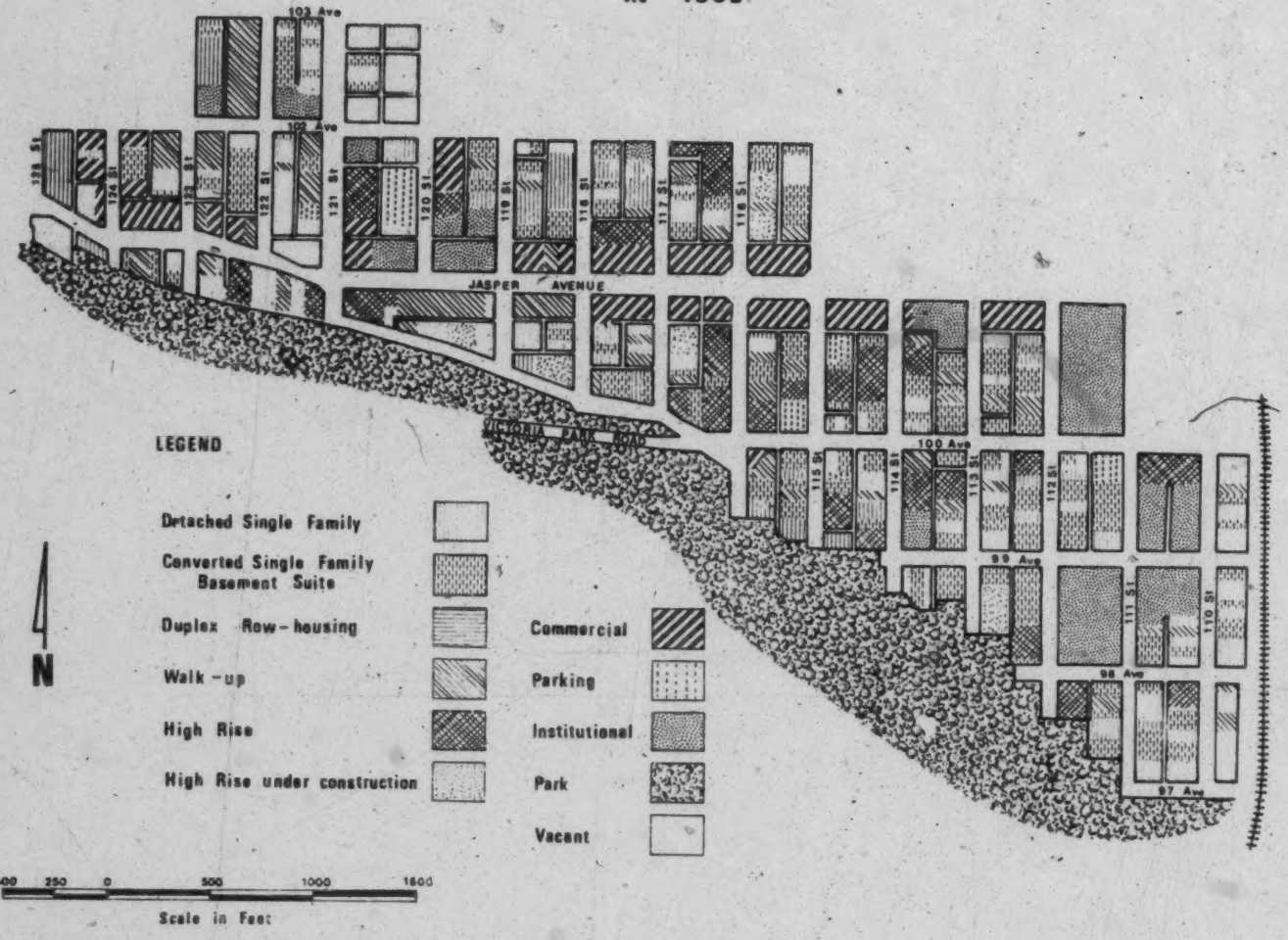


FIGURE 3.2

LAND USE OF STUDY AREA 'B IN 1969

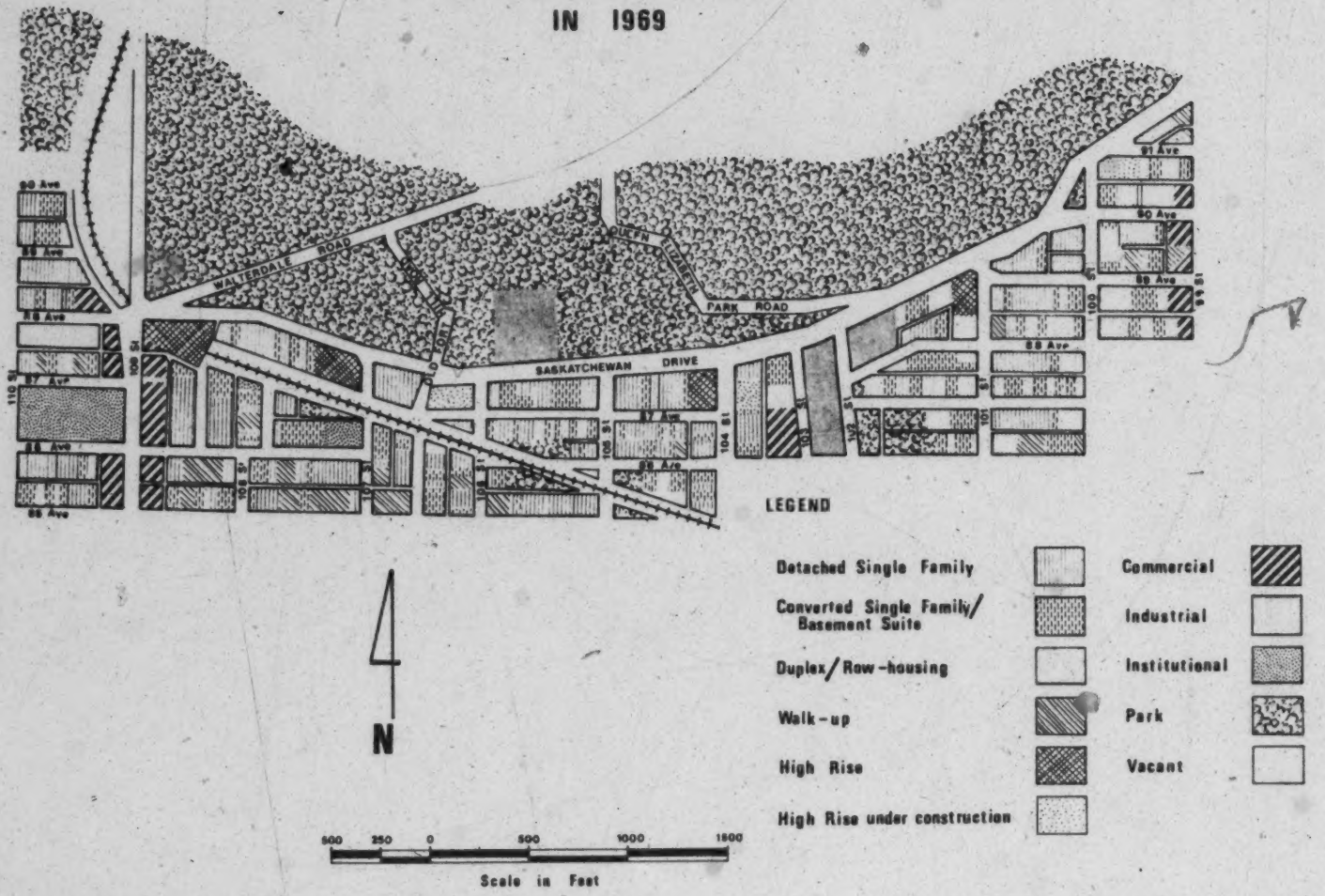


FIGURE 3.3

LAND USE OF STUDY AREA "A" IN 1960

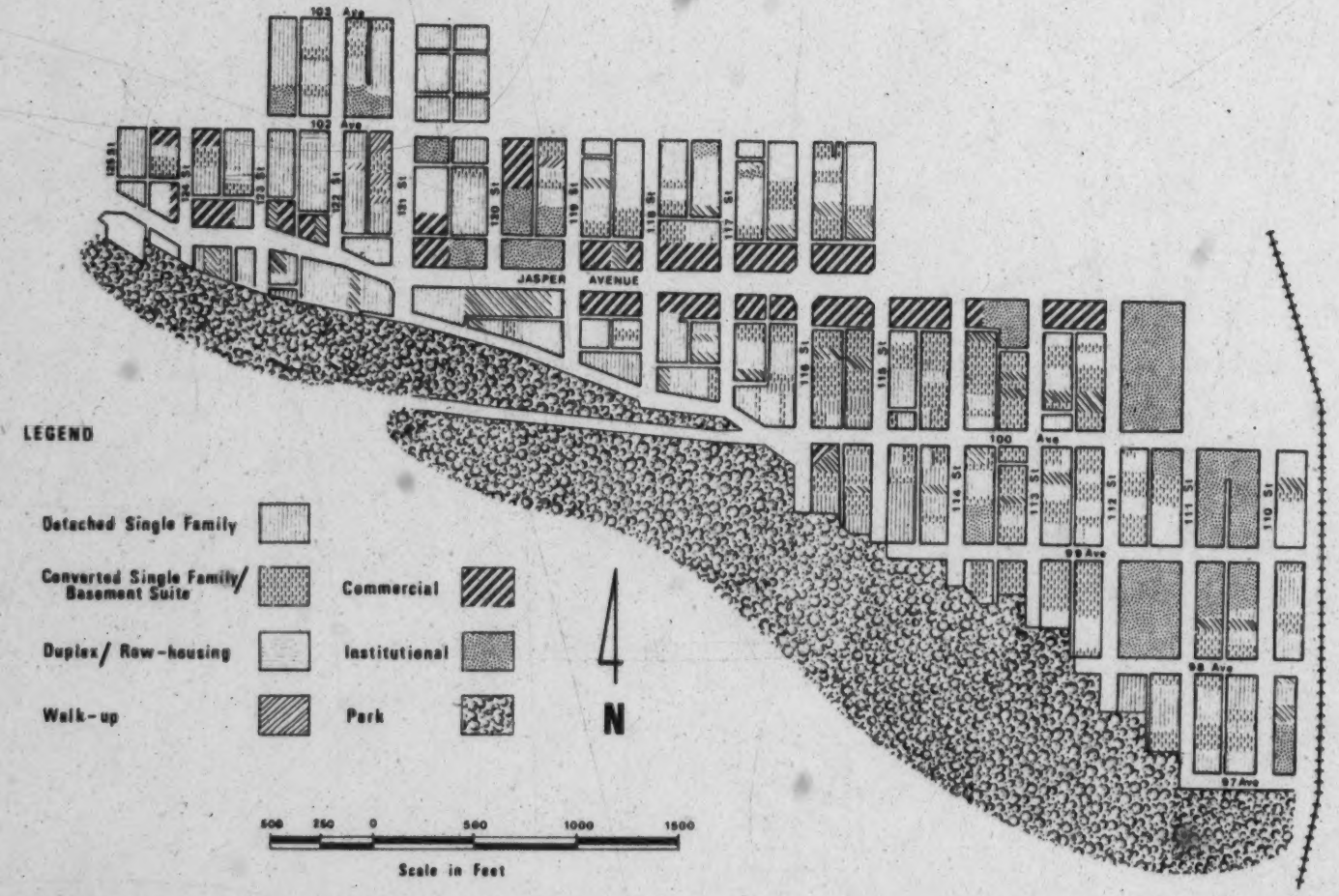


FIGURE 3.3

LAND USE OF STUDY AREA "B" IN 1960

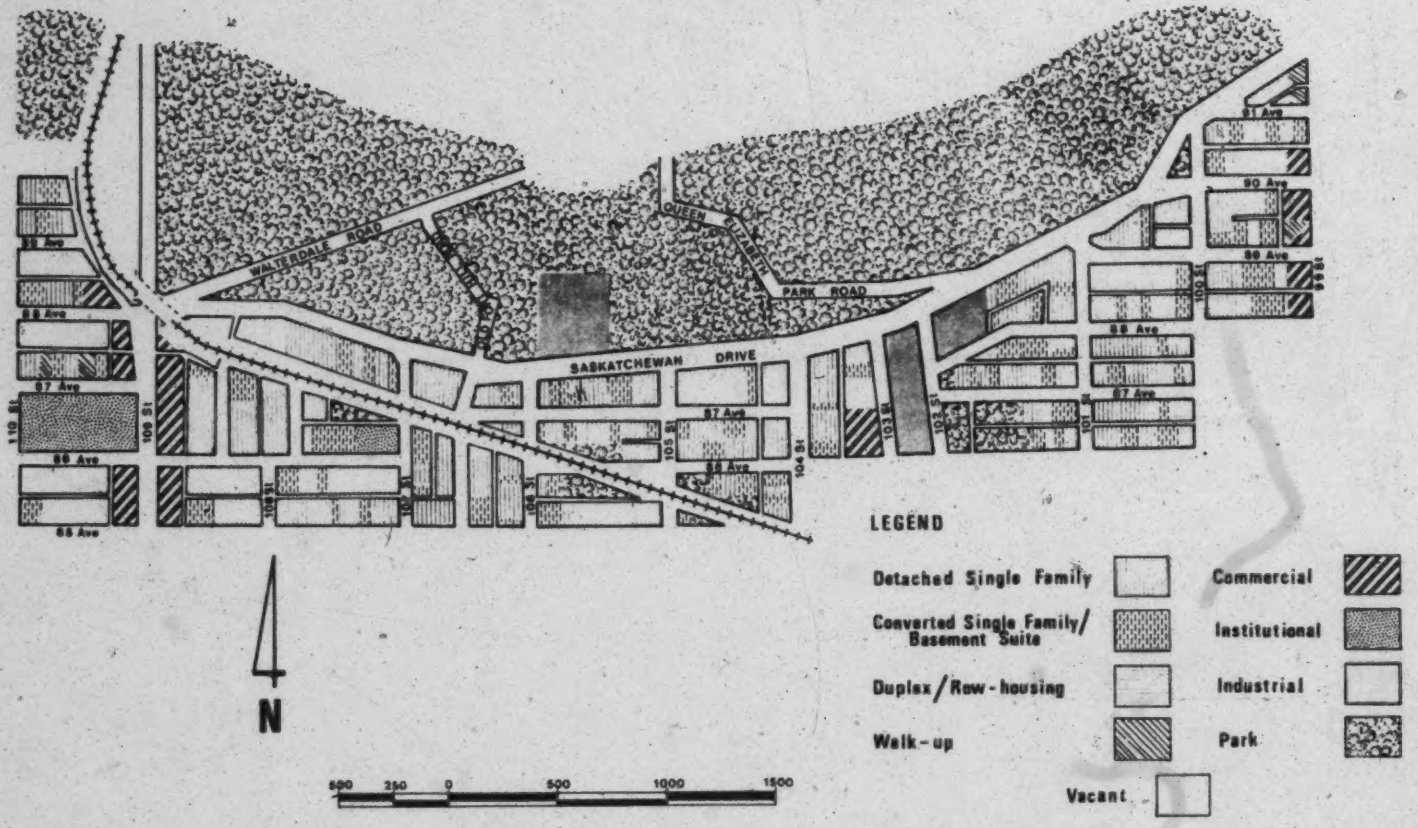


Plate 3:1 View Northwest Overlooking the North Saskatchewan River Valley: Residential High Rise Development in Area "A", 1970.

Plate 3.2 View North Overlooking the Saskatchewan River Valley: Residential High Rise Development South of the CBD and in Area "A", 1970.

Plate 3.3 View Northwest of High Rise Development in Area "A": Valleyview and Bristol Towers are located to the West, 1970.

Plate 3.4 View Northwest of High Rise Development in Area "A": The Panorama and Park are Located Midwest, 1970.

Plate 3.5 View Northwest of High Rise Development in Area "A": Crestview is Located in the Centre, 1970.

have been constructed and ten more were under construction in 1969. They have tended to be concentrated south of Jasper Avenue, but there has been a recent northward shift, into an area which was initially being redeveloped with walk-up apartments.

On the south bank of the North Saskatchewan River, along Saskatchewan Drive and facing into the valley, is a much smaller group of high rises, including the remaining two of the study sample (Figure 3.3, p. 40). Land use within this area is varied, with commercial activities oriented to 109th Street, and industry (including a brewery) between 106th Street and 102nd Street. Educational and recreational land uses are situated in the valley to the north and along the river flats. Arterials funnelling traffic to the CBD are 109th Street, extending across the High Level Bridge, and those roads leading down to the 105th Street Bridge (Plate 3.6).

Recent residential redevelopment in the area has not been as intense as on the north bank. There were only five high rises in 1970, with two more under construction. But south of Saskatchewan Drive the conversion of single family homes into multiple dwelling units and walk-up redevelopment have had an extensive impact in the past ten years.

FORM OF STUDY UNITS

The function of a high rise is related to its form. Form, as defined here, includes the number and variety of suites, their quality and their design. Function is influenced by total design, quality of construction, finishing, amenities offered and the importance attached to individual privacy. The number of suites in a high rise determines

Plate 3.6 View South Overlooking the Saskatchewan River Valley: Residential High Rise Development in Area "B", the Strathcona and Ambassador are Located to the West, 1970..

how many separate households it can contain, and the size of each suite sets limits for the size of the household. These limits are further restricted depending upon the types of suites available in the high rise. For example, a high rise which includes just one- and two-bedroom suites will have a different function from one in which bachelor and three-bedroom suites are also incorporated.

The price of the suites, a function of both size and suite type, determines which households can afford the type of accommodation offered. The form of a high rise affects the costs of individual suites if amenities, such as a swimming pool, sauna or recreational facilities, are provided for the tenants. Form, therefore, is an important factor in determining the residential function of a high rise and must be analyzed for each of the study samples. Variety, size, and number of suites, amenities, rental prices and apartment policy are the principal considerations.

Valleyview Manor

Valleyview Manor was constructed in 1961 and provides semi-luxury accommodation in relatively large suites (Plate 3.7). Suite designs are based on ten different floor plans and vary according to suite-type. Two of the plans include a den, found in both one- and two-bedroom suites. There are five varieties of one-bedroom suites ranging in size from 650 to 910 square feet. The first floor contains three suites, all one-bedroom, the elevator, and the lobby. Floors two to seven are identical in layout, with five two-bedroom and two one-bedroom suites per floor. Heated

Plate 3.7 Valleyview Manor

parking and laundry facilities are found in the basement. It provides 90 per cent parking, based on one car space per suite.

Suite size and layout and, to a lesser extent, height are the main determining factors in rental costs. Two suites of the same size may vary in price due to variations in floor plans, while prices also vary according to suite. Yearly rental returns per square foot (Figure 3.6, p. 54) are high for two-bedroom suites. The difference in rental returns for the amount of space indicates that the tenant pays more for less space but has a better designed suite. The increase in rent per suite from construction to 1970 was ten dollars. There is no definite renting policy, but there is some selection, both by those who can afford to pay the rent and by the manageress, who prefers older households.

Bristol Towers

Bristol Towers was completed in the latter part of 1961 and began renting in 1962 (Plate 3.8). It offers its tenants four types of suites: bachelor (385 square feet), one-bedroom (730 square feet), two-bedroom (910 square feet) and two penthouse suites. Two two-bedroom suites, one one-bedroom suite, the lobby, one elevator, and laundry facilities are found on the main floor. Floors two to eight follow the same pattern with six suites per floor, two bachelor, two one-bedroom and two two-bedroom. Only 50 per cent parking is provided for the tenants.

Rent increases with size of suite, with floor and with view (Figure 3.4, 3.5, 3.6). Suites increase in rent from one to two dollars

Plate 3.8 Bristol Towers

FIGURE 3.4

YEARLY RENTAL RETURNS FOR BACHELOR UNITS BY HIGH RISE

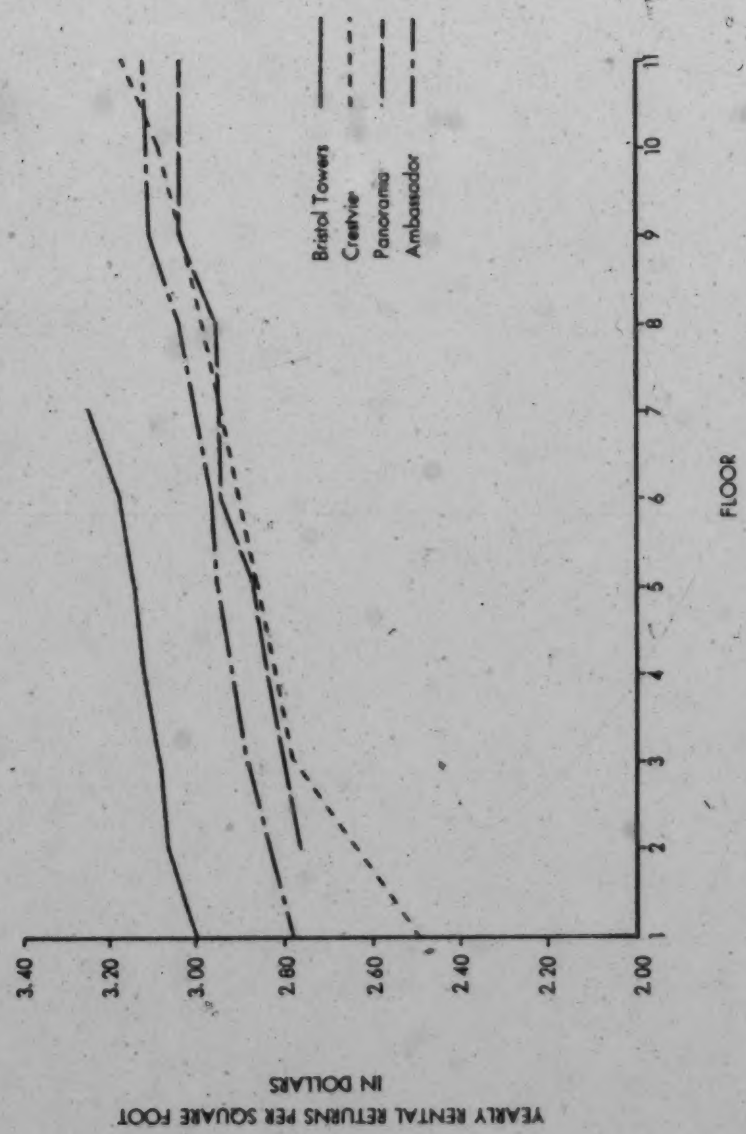


FIGURE 3.5

YEARLY RENTAL RETURNS FOR ONE-BEDROOM UNITS BY HIGH RISE

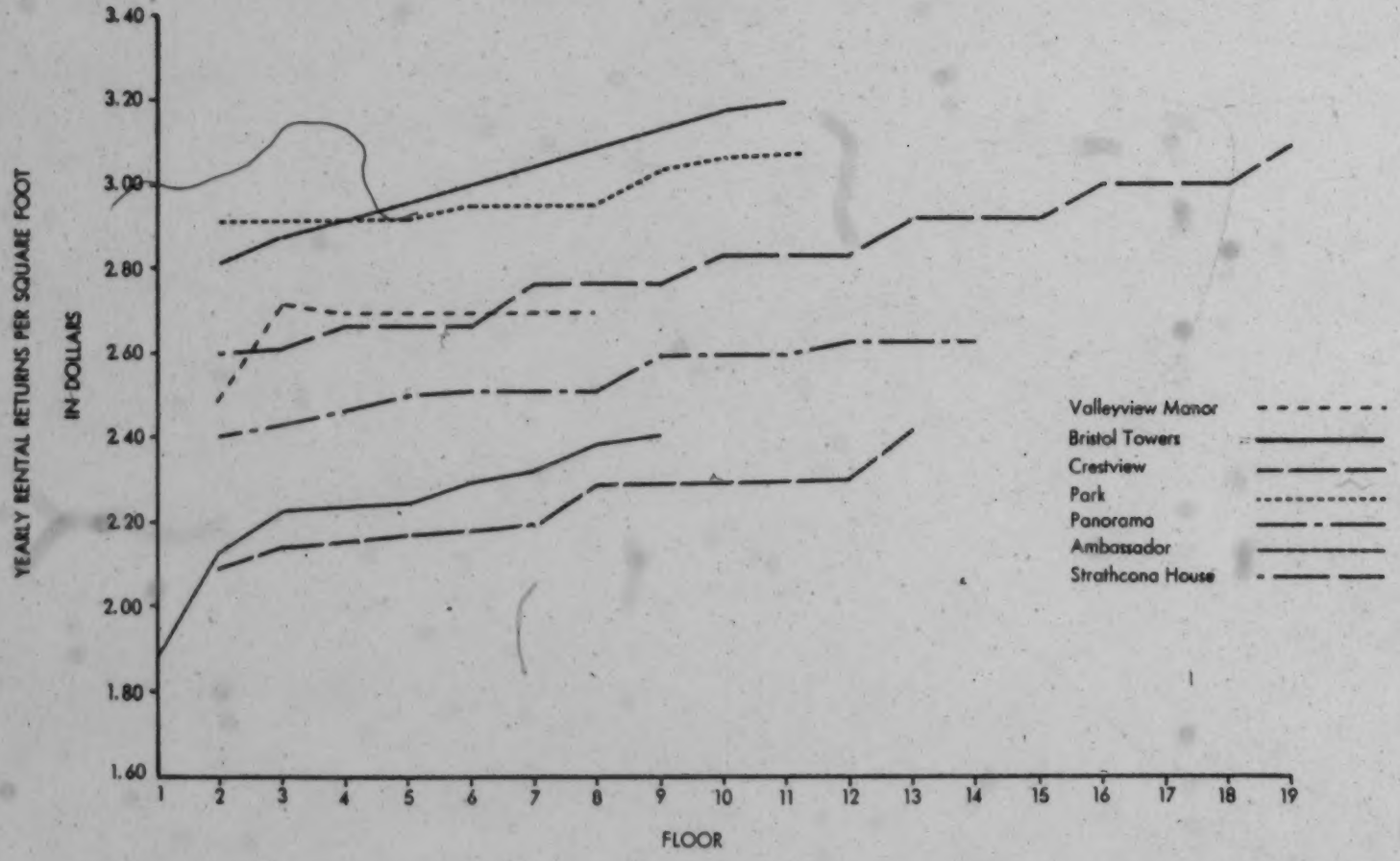
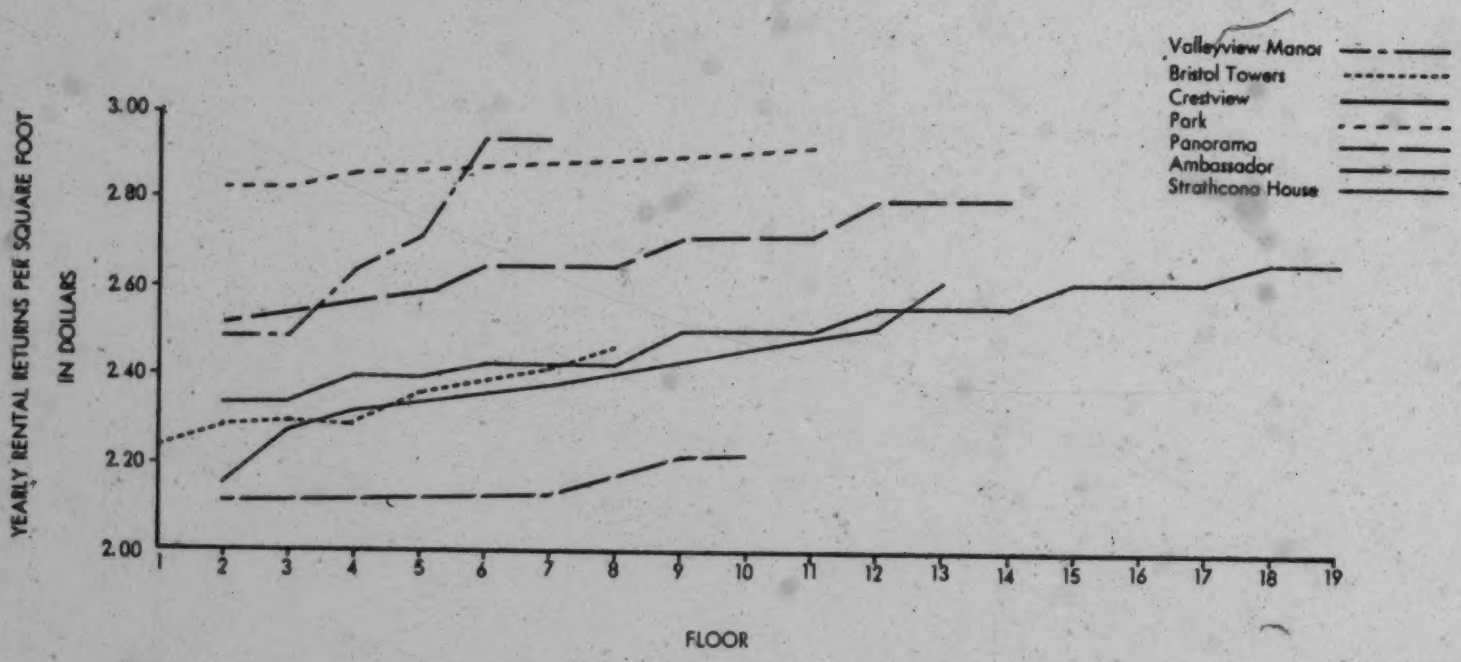


FIGURE 3.6 YEARLY RENTAL RETURNS FOR TWO-BEDROOM UNITS BY HIGH RISE



per floor; suites without a view are four dollars less than those which overlook the valley. The increase in rent over the eight years was ten dollars per suite. Yearly rental returns per square foot are highest for bachelor suites and lowest for one-bedroom suites.

Renting policies set out by the management aim at having the lowest possible turnover. Tenants desiring to rent a suite in Bristol Towers must be over 30 years of age, must have sound financial backing and, if there are children, they must be over 14 years of age. Tenants are required to sign a year's lease (or a longer term if they wish), thus constraining moves from the high rise during the period of the lease. In addition to the rent, the tenants are also required to pay for their own telephone and parking (when desired).

Crestview

Crestview was completed in the latter part of 1961 (Plate 3.9) and provides 75 per cent parking. The three types of suites in the building are bachelor (385 square feet), one-bedroom (762 square feet), and two-bedroom (890 square feet). The first floor of the apartment contains two suites, one of which is the caretaker's; it also has the lobby, two elevators and facilities for purchasing milk. Floors two to thirteen follow the same pattern, six suites per floor, two bachelor, two one-bedroom, and two two-bedroom.

Rent increases with size of suite, height and orientation (Figure 3.4, p. 52, 3.5, p. 53, 3.6, p. 54). The difference in rent for suites with and without a view of the valley is five dollars. Most

Plate 3.9 Crestview

suites increase in price by one to two dollars with each increase in floor level. The increase in rent for each suite since 1964 has been ten dollars. Tenants pay more per square foot for a bachelor suite than for a two-bedroom suite. The cost difference per square foot of a one-bedroom suite in comparison with a two-bedroom suite is not great, due to economies of scale involved in constructing a two-bedroom suite. Apart from paying the rent, the tenants are also required to pay for their own telephone and parking, if desired. The management does not allow households with children under twelve, and prefers not to admit households exceeding three persons, especially if they consist of unrelated individuals. All proposed tenants must also produce evidence of their financial position. Tenants are required to sign a year's lease, or a longer term lease if they wish.

Ambassador

The Ambassador began renting in the latter part of 1965 (Plates 3.10 and 3.11). The four types of suites found in the building are bachelor (450 square feet), one-bedroom (572 to 672 square feet), two-bedroom (992 square feet) and three-bedroom (1350 to 1444 square feet). The indoor swimming pool, office, beauty salon, two elevators, one bachelor suite, facilities for purchasing bread, and the lobby are found on the main floor. Laundry facilities are located on every second floor. The high rise is separated into two wings. Floors two to nine follow the same pattern, with two bachelor, three one-bedroom and one two-bedroom suites in each wing, for a total of twelve suites per floor. Floor ten

Plate 3.10 The Ambassador: A Front View

Plate 3.11 The Ambassador: A Side View

contains two three-bedroom, one one-bedroom and one bachelor suite in each wing. The Ambassador provides both covered and open parking facilities for 75 per cent of the suites.

Rents vary depending upon the type of suite and floor. They increase by two dollars per floor for bachelor and one-bedroom suites, whereas two-bedroom suites rent for the same price until the seventh floor when they begin to increase by three to five dollars a floor (Figure 3.4, p. 52; 3.5, p. 53; 3.6, p. 54). Bachelor and one-bedroom suites command a much higher rent per square foot than two-bedroom and three-bedroom suites, which is due to construction costs.

The location of the Ambassador and its décor influences its renting policies. The management allows university students to rent suites, although married couples and older households are preferred. Tenants are required to sign a year's lease, and must pay their own electricity and telephone bills. Parking is an option but must be paid for by the tenant if desired.

Park Towers

The Park was completed early in 1966 and began renting in the latter part of the year (Plates 3.12 and 3.13). It offers a wide variety of one- and two-bedroom suites. There are three different floor plans for two-bedroom suites, varying in size from 1022 to 1488 square feet. There are two varieties of one-bedroom suites, either 1007 or 744 square feet, and two varieties of penthouse suites, both 2050 square feet. The main floor has the only three-bedroom suite in the

Plate 3.12 The Park: A Front View

Plate 3.13 The Park: A Rear View

building (1600 square feet), the caretaker's suite (800 square feet), the lobby, two elevators and the office. The swimming pool, and the underground parking are found in a semi-basement, with more parking at a lower level. Laundry facilities are provided on each floor. Floors two to ten follow the same pattern with two one-bedroom and two two-bedroom suites per floor. Floor eleven contains three two-bedroom suites and the top two floors have two penthouse suites (each with a fireplace) per floor. One hundred per cent parking is provided for the tenants.

Rents vary in price according to suite type, floor area and height. Rental returns per square foot are higher for some two-bedroom suites (Figure 3.4, p. 52; 3.5, p. 53; 3.6, p. 54) than for the penthouses. Tenants occupying two-bedroom suites with floor sizes of 1022 square feet and 1488 square feet, pay less, however, for their living area than those occupying the other suites.

Older married couples and older single households are preferred as tenants, but the most restricting element for proposed tenants is their own ability to pay the rent. Tenants must pay their own electricity and telephone bills, and parking when desired.

Panorama

The Panorama was completed in the latter part of 1967 (Plate 3.14, 3.15). It offers seven varieties of suites: bachelor (561 square feet); small one-bedroom (846 square feet); large one-bedroom (866 square feet); small two-bedroom (1067 square feet); large two-bedroom (1090 square

Plate 3.14 The Panorama: A Front View

Plate 3.15 The Panorama: A Side View

feet); three-bedroom (1500 square feet); and penthouse suites (2900 square feet). The first floor contains the lobby, two elevators, the indoor swimming pool, the recreation room and the office. The same pattern of seven suites per floor (bachelor, two one-bedrooms, two two-bedrooms) is followed from floors two to eleven. Floors welve to fourteen are identical in layout with two two-bedroom, three one-bedroom, and one three-bedroom suites. The top floor contains the two penthouse suites. On each floor are laundry facilities. One hundred per cent parking is provided for the tenants both underground (heated) and outside.

Rent increases with size of suite and floor height. The average increase is two dollars for floors two to five (Figure 3.4, p. 52; 3.5, p. 53; 3.6, p. 54). Floors six to fourteen increase approximately five dollars per suite every third floor. A two-bedroom suite on the fourteenth floor is twenty-five dollars more than the same suite on the second floor, a one-bedroom suite differs by fifteen dollars and a bachelor suite by thirteen dollars. Yearly rental returns per square foot are higher for bachelor suites than for other suites.

The management prefers married couples and older individuals as tenants. Parent(s) with children are allowed as tenants but the children must be at least fourteen years old. Tenants must sign a year's lease, and pay their own telephone, electricity and parking, if desired.

Strathcona House

Strathcona, the newest of the study sample (1968) (Plate 3.16), is designed around two suite-types: one-bedroom and two-bedroom. There

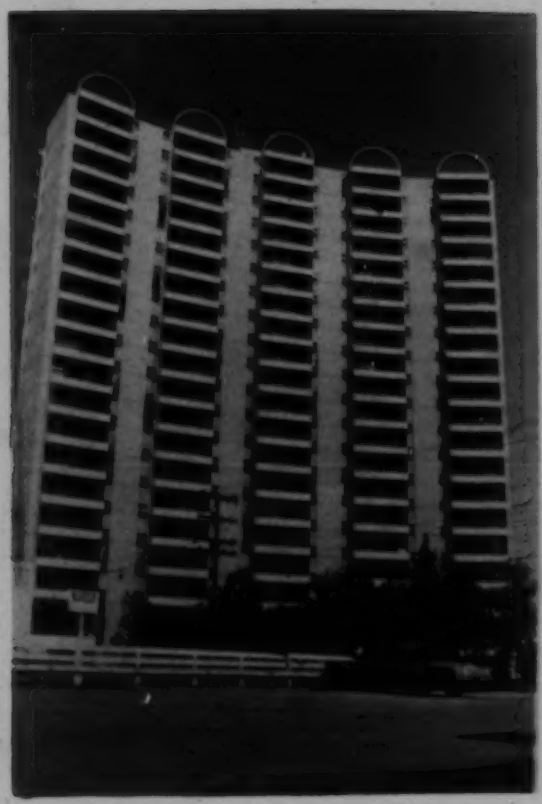


Plate 3.16 The Strathcona

are two different floor plans for the two-bedroom suites, though both are 1050 square feet, and four different floor plans for one-bedroom suites ranging in size from 750 square feet to 840 square feet. Floors two to nineteen are identical in layout with two two-bedroom suites and ten one-bedroom suites per floor. The main floor has one two-bedroom suite, four one-bedroom suites, three elevators, the lobby, office, laundry facilities, milk and soft drink dispensers, the indoor swimming pool, the recreation room and the sauna. One hundred per cent parking is provided, both covered and outside. An outdoor swimming pool and lounge area is also provided.

Rental prices increase with floor, suite-type and size, and orientation to the river valley. Suites facing the valley are ten dollars more than those facing south. Rents increase by five dollars every third floor regardless of suite-type or size (Figure 3.4, p. 52; 3.5, p. 53; 3.6, p. 54). Yearly rental returns are higher for one-bedroom suites than for two-bedroom suites. Tenants are not required to pay for parking as it is included in the rent, but they must pay their own telephone bills.

The management definitely prefers married couples (if children are in the household they must be over fourteen years of age), where one or both are employed, or older retired couples or individuals.

Specialized Form

The seven selected high rises have become progressively more specialized in their form. Crestview, Bristol Towers, and the Ambassador, the first to be built, excluding Valleyview Manor, have little variety in

in their form. They offer three suite-types and occasionally four. Each individual suite-type has the same floor plan throughout the building. The Park, Panorama, and Strathcona House, constructed later, have specialized their form to include a limited number of suite-types (two at Strathcona House) with a variety of floor plans, mostly with more living space than in the earlier high rises (Table 3.1). Apart from being more

Table 3.1--Suite-Type and Size by High Rise
(in square feet)

High Rise	Bachelor	1-bedroom	2-bedroom	3-bedroom	Penthouse
Crestview	385	762	890	....	....
Bristol Towers	385	730	910	....	2025
Panorama	561	846-866	1067-1090	1500	2900
Park	...	744-1007	1022-1488	....	2050
Valley View Manor	...	650-820	950-1360	....	....
Strathcona	...	750-840	1050	....	....
Ambassador	450	572-672	992	1350-1444	....

specialized in the range of suites, these high rises provide numerous additional luxuries and anemities, such as better kitchens, parking and recreational facilities (Table 3.2). One exception to this increasing specialization is Valleyview Manor. Although built in 1961, it provides the most luxurious accommodation of all seven high rises, but it does not include recreational facilities.

Rental ranges vary, but those high rises offering more living space and constructed later demand a higher rent. In return for paying

Table 3.2--Added Facilities in High Rises Studied

Amenities	High Rise						
	Strath-cona	Ambas-sador	Bristol Tower	Valley-view Manor	Pano-rama	Park	Crest-view
Outdoor pool	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-
Indoor pool	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-
Sauna room	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-
Exercise room	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
Recreation room	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-
Vending machines							
Milk	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
Cigarettes	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bread	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-
Soft drinks	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parking							
Underground	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-
Surface	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
Automatic washer/dry.							
1 each floor	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-
Every 2nd floor	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-
Main floor	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓
Basement	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-
Garbage disposal units	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dishwasher	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-

a higher rent, the tenants have the added advantage of choosing from a wide variety of floor plans and better facilities. This trend of improving amenities and providing more varied suite-types is basically aimed at attracting tenants who are able to afford semi-luxury accommodation. This trend also suggests that these seven high rises will be distinguished in their function because of differences in their form.

Rental Rates

All rental rates were converted to a yearly rate per square foot of gross area within enclosing walls of the apartment unit. Rates were calculated for bachelor units, small one- and two-bedroom units (Figure 3.4, p. 52; 3.5, p. 53; 3.6, p. 54). Rental rates for two-bedroom units were highest in the Park and lowest in the Ambassador, while rental rates for one-bedroom units were highest in the Ambassador and lowest in the Crestview. Rental rates for bachelor units were highest in Bristol Towers.

Variations in rental rates for these suite-types is partially due to economies of scale involved in constructing larger units, but are also influenced by layout of unit, amenities offered both in the unit and for the high rise, and by location. High rises with standard unit layouts and fewer amenities such as the Bristol Towers and Crestview had lower rental rates. Rental rates in the Ambassador for one-bedroom and bachelor suites are exceedingly high for the amount of living space and the amenities which are provided in comparison with the other six high rises. This is due to a higher demand for these unit-types at this location, although demand and rental rates for two-bedroom units within the

Ambassador are very low. From this it can be assumed that rental rates, although influenced by design, construction costs, and amenities, are also influenced by ability to attract tenants able and willing to pay for particular accommodation.

Density of Occupancy

The distribution of suite-type by high rise is shown in Table 3.3. Some variation is apparent and must be expected to have some impact on household size. The average household size in Edmonton in

Table 3.3--Percentage Distribution of Type of Suite by High Rise

Suite Type	Valley-view Manor	Bristol Tower	Crest-view	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona	% Total
Bachelor	....	35.7	36.6	....	13.0	35.8	....	18.8
1-bedroom	32.2	29.8	34.0	40.0	52.8	47.7	83.6	51.0
2-bedroom	67.8	29.8	29.4	49.3	29.6	12.3	16.4	27.5
3-bedroom	....	....	....	2.7	2.8	4.2	....	1.6
Penthouse	....	4.7	....	8.0	1.9	....	....	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1966 was 3.5 persons, and 2.2 persons for the census tracts in which the selected high rises were located. The average household size according to the sample survey was 1.7 persons. As indicated in Table 3.4 two-person households dominated, closely followed by one-person households. Two-person households were the most common in all high rises except

Crestview and Bristol, which have higher proportions of bachelor suites. However, as indicated in Table 3.4, the frequency with which all these different household sizes were represented varied by high rise. The smallest unit was 385 square feet or two rooms, excluding the bathroom, and the largest was 2050 square feet, in a seven room unit; but even the largest unit often attracted only two-person households. The abnormally small household size found in these units is more a function of the high rise itself than unit size.

Table 3.4--Percentage Distribution of Household Size by High Rise*

Number of Persons	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona	% Total
1-person	42.9	72.7	56.3	25.0	32.4	37.2	32.0	38.8
2-persons	50.0	22.7	37.5	55.0	58.9	41.9	60.0	50.0
3-persons	7.1	4.6	6.2	10.0	2.9	18.6	6.7	8.5
4-persons	....	....	....	10.0	2.9	....	1.3	1.8
5-persons	....	....	....	....	2.9	2.3	....	.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Questionnaire Data

The size of household influences to a certain degree the size of unit which is occupied. This is most apparent in bachelor suites which were either two rooms or 2½ rooms, ranging from 355 square feet to 561 square feet, and were normally occupied by one person households (Table 3.5). With only 17 per cent of the bachelor suites occupied by two

persons, the density of occupancy was .6 persons to 1.8 persons per room. This high density is exceptional.

In the sample, 60 per cent of the one-person households occupied one-bedroom suites which varied in size from 572 square feet to 910 square feet, or three- to four-room units. Furthermore, as noted in Table 3.5, one-person households also occupied two-bedroom units, emphasizing the low density of occupancy enjoyed by the majority of these households. Two-person households were found in all suite-types with a density of occupancy which ranged from 1.0 to 0.3 persons per room. However, the majority of these two-person households were found in one-bedroom units.

Table 3.5--Household Size by Suite-Type for all High Rises* (Percentage)

	Number of Persons in Suite					
Suite-Type	1 Person	2 Persons	3 Persons	4 Persons	5 Persons	Total
Bachelor	11.	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.4
1-bedroom	23.2	29.5	2.2	0.0	0.0	54.9
2-bedroom	4.5	15.6	4.5	.4	0.0	25.0
3-bedroom	0.0	.9	1.3	.4	.9	3.6
Penthouse	0.0	1.8	.4	.9	.0	3.1
Total	38.8	50.0	8.5	1.8	.9	100.0

* Questionnaire Data

Three person households occupied all suite-types except for bachelor units, the density of occupancy varying from 1.0 to 0.4 persons per room. According to the sample 53 per cent of the three person households lived in two-bedroom units, 26 per cent lived in one-bedroom units and the remainder in three-bedroom units or penthouses. It seems, however, that density of occupancy cannot be explained solely by number of people and suite-type or space occupied. Other factors, such as preference for space, age, income and household type, which are the subjects for discussion in the following chapter, continually intervene to complicate the problem of space allocation.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH RISE RESIDENTS

In this chapter, an attempt is made to identify the socio-economic characteristics perculiar to high rise residents and to distinguish them from the occupants of more 'traditional' types of dwellings. An attempt is also made to relate the socio-economic characteristics of high rise residents to the type of suite chosen within the high rise. The particular socio-economic characteristics identified in this chapter include age, marital status, sex, occupation and income. In distinguishing the characteristics of high rise residents from those of other residential types, a data problem exists. Information on the non-high rise population had to be obtained from the Census of Canada, but their household categories are not strictly comparable with those in the HRCD and the questionnaire. As a result only broad comparisons were possible.

HOUSEHOLD TYPES

Classification

At the initial stage of analysis, a coding scheme was formulated to identify residents who had occupied or were occupying one of the study units. As one aim of this chapter was to compare high rise with non-high

rise households, the classification scheme originally adopted from Foote et al., (1960, p. 394) was modified in order to correspond to broad age groups in the Census of Canada. In particular, the younger age groups (20 to 24 years and 25 to 29 years), which are expanding rapidly in Canada and which are assumed to be of considerable importance in the rental housing markets (Bank of Nova Scotia, 1965, Neutze 1968, pp. 23-25), were delineated more finely than in Foote's classification.

Residents who occupied one suite were considered as a household and classified according to age, marital status and relationship among household members. The questionnaire data incorporated other variables, such as sex. The following classification was used:

1. Households composed of unattached persons over 45 years, usually living alone or occasionally with an unrelated individual.
2. Households composed of unattached persons 35 to 44 years old, either living alone or with one or two unrelated roommates.
3. Households composed of unattached persons 25 to 34 years old, either living alone or with one or more unrelated roommates.
4. Households composed of unattached persons 24 years old and under, either living alone or with one or more unrelated roommates.
5. Married couples without children where husband is over 45 years old.

6. Married couples without children where husband is 35 to 44 years old.
7. Married couples without children where husband is under 34 years old.
8. Parents or parent living with own children.
9. Households consisting of two or more adults where at least two must be related.

Distribution of Household Types

The distribution of household types for the HRCD is given in Table 4.1. At the aggregate level for all the high rises taken together it is apparent that no one household type dominates. Instead, a variety of household types is heavily represented. Since these data indicate total occupancy over periods ranging from one to nine years, depending on the high rise, it was possible that some household types might be over-represented through changes in apartment management policy. When the tabulation is restricted to 1968 and 1969, however, the same pattern emerges. Four household types consistently predominate and this conclusion is supported by the questionnaire survey (Table 4.2). The only substantial difference is that type eight (parent(s) with children) shows up more strongly in the questionnaire sample than from the HRCD.

The frequency with which these household types occur also varies according to high rise. It is clear from Tables 4.1 and 4.2 that different household types are attracted to different high rises. The reasons for this will be explored later. For purposes of the analysis all household types are classified into two broad categories, related and non-related.

Table 4.1--Percentage Distribution of Household Types by High Rise (HRCD: 1961-1970)

Household Type	High Rise: North Side: Valleyview Manor	Crestview	Bristol Towers	Park	Panorama	South Side: Ambassador	Strathcona House	Total	1968*	1969**
1.Unattached over 44	33.1	25.5	48.8	14.7	10.2	2.8	5.2	15.1	17.1	17.8
2.Unattached 35-44	5.1	12.4	11.9	4.0	7.4	7.7	5.2	7.5	7.8	8.3
3.Unattached 25-34	.8	18.3	6.0	4.0	11.1	21.8	23.2	15.8	15.4	15.3
4.Unattached under 25	.8	9.2	2.4	1.3	9.3	21.4	16.0	12.0	9.4	8.2
5.Married couples over 44	32.2	14.4	16.7	49.3	19.4	6.5	8.0	15.8	17.4	17.8
6.Married couples 35-44	9.3	3.9	3.6	8.0	6.5	6.7	4.0	5.8	3.6	3.7
7.Married couples under 35	2.5	11.8	4.8	6.7	21.3	21.8	29.6	17.6	19.7	20.0
8.Parent(s) with children	14.4	3.9	2.4	12.0	11.1	8.4	6.4	8.0	7.1	6.8
9.Related adults	1.7	.7	3.6	-	3.9	3.2	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.2
All Households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* HRCD from December 1968.
** HRCD from December 1969.

Table 4.2--Percentage Distribution of Household Types by High Rise (Questionnaire Data)

	High Rise							
	North Side					South Side		
Household Type	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total
1. Unattached over 44	42.9	40.9	56.3	6.0	11.8	7.1	5.3	16.1
2. Unattached 35-44	....	13.6	....	20.0	8.8	9.3	9.3	9.4
3. Unattached 25-34	....	18.2	....	....	11.8	20.9	24.0	15.6
4. Unattached under 25	....	....	....	....	....	11.6	12.0	6.3
5. Married couples over 44	42.9	9.1	37.5	45.0	23.5	4.7	6.7	17.0
6. Married couples 35-44	....	4.5	....	5.0	2.9	4.7	....	2.2
7. Married couples under 35	7.1	9.1	....	....	26.5	20.9	34.7	21.0
8. Parent(s) with children	....	4.5	6.3	20.0	14.7	20.9	8.0	11.6
9. Related Adults	....	4.1	....	....	5.0	....	....	.9
All Households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Non-Related Households

Non-related households consist of one person, or a group of persons who are not related to one another by blood, marriage or adoption. This type of household formed 47 per cent of the questionnaire sample and 50 per cent of the HRCD (Table 4.3). In the whole city, by contrast, non-related households made up only 18 per cent of the total number of households in 1966. This therefore establishes one important difference between high rise occupants and the population in general.

Table 4.3--Percentage Distribution of Related and Non-related Households by High Rise

	High Rise							
	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total
Questionnaire Data								
Non-related	42.9	72.7	56.2	25.0	32.4	48.8	50.7	47.3
Related	57.1	27.3	43.8	75.0	67.6	51.2	49.3	52.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
HRCD								
Non-related	39.3	65.3	69.0	24.0	38.1	53.7	49.6	50.5
Related	60.7	34.7	31.0	76.0	61.9	46.3	50.4	49.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Households under 35 Years of Age. Unattached individuals under 35 years were well represented for both the HRCD (28 per cent) and the questionnaire (22 per cent) data. Within this age group, households

between 25 and 35 years are dominant and are more consistent in their occupancy of high rise units than the younger age group. As Table 4.4 indicates, persons over 25 years commonly lived alone while younger individuals frequently shared their accommodation with one or more unrelated roommates. According to the questionnaire sample, male households

Table 4.4--Size of Household for Unattached Individuals Under 35 Years of Age*
(Percentage)

Size of Household	High Rise								Questionnaire Data
	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total	Total
Households 25-34 years old									
1 person	100.0	92.9	100.0	100.0	91.7	87.1	86.2	88.8	74.3
2 persons	.....	7.1	.....	.....	8.3	12.9	13.8	11.2	22.8
3 persons	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.9
4 persons	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5 persons	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Households Under 25 years of age									
1 person	.....	78.6	100.0	.....	70.0	41.0	30.0	44.2	50.0
2 persons	100.0	21.4	.....	.....	20.0	32.8	70.0	41.9	50.0
3 persons	.....	.....	.....	.....	10.0	18.0	.....	9.3	.....
4 persons	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....	6.6	.....	3.5	.....
5-6 persons	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.6	.....	.8	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* HRCD.

were more prevalent than female in the 25 to 34 years age group. Apart from two people who had been married previously, all these individuals were single. The average age of the household head[1] for the older group was 28.5 years and for the younger group 22.7 years. These households under 35 years old predominantly occupied bachelor and one-bedroom units (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5--Suite Type Occupied by Young Unattached Households Under 35 Years of Age**
(Percentage)

	High Rise								
Suite-Type	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total	HRCD Total
Households 25-34 Years Old									
Bachelor	*	100.0	.....	*	25.0	77.8	*	34.3	40.2
1 bedroom	.....	.....	.....	.....	75.0	11.1	88.9	57.1	53.8
2 bedroom	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11.1	11.1	8.6	5.9
Penthouse	*	*	.....	.....	.....	*	*	.....	.....
Total	.....	100.0	.....	.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Households under 25 Years Old									
Bachelor	*	.....	.....	*	.....	80.0	*	28.6	37.2
1 bedroom	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20.0	100.0	71.4	48.1
2 bedroom	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13.2
3 bedroom	*	*	*	.....	.....	.....	*	.....	1.6
Penthouse	*	*	.....	.....	.....	*	*	.....	.....
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Suite-Type Absent
** Questionnaire Data

[1] Household head. The household head for married couples or parent(s) is defined as the husband and in the case of a single parent living with children, the parent. For non-related households, the household head is defined as the eldest member in the household regardless of sex.

Young, non-related households are definitely one major population group which is characteristic of the high rise sample. At the same time, though, these households are not common to all the high rises studied, but gravitate towards specific buildings (Tables 4.1, p. 79, 4.2, p. 80), especially those on the south side. According to the questionnaire sample, no unattached individuals below the age of 25 years were found in units on the north side. A similar pattern is evident from the HRCD (Table 4.1, p. 79): although small numbers of the under 25 age group have lived in all the high rises at some time, they have been significant only in the south side buildings. Even the 25 to 34 year age group has been largely limited to the two south side high rises and to two on the north side.

Older Unattached Households. A second group, heavily represented in the non-related households, comprised those unattached individuals over 44 years of age (Table 4.1, p. 79 and 4.2, p. 80). According to the questionnaire sample, this group was dominated by individuals living alone and was 86 per cent female. Twenty-seven per cent of the people in this household type had never been married but the majority (61 per cent) were widowed. Ages ranged from 45 to 90 years; the average was 57 years. Again from the questionnaire sample, 61 per cent occupied two-bedroom suites. Unlike the young unattached households they are drawn more to the high rises on the north side and represent 43 per cent, 41 per cent and 56 per cent respectively of the total households in Valleyview Manor, Crestview and Bristol Towers. A similar pattern was revealed by the HRCD.

Non-related households between 35 and 44 years of age accounted for only 9 per cent of the questionnaire sample and 8 per cent of the HRCD (Tables 4.1, p. 79, and 4.2, p. 80). Like the over 45 year olds they commonly lived alone, but, unlike them, they were dominantly male (58 per cent). The male population was 64 per cent single, whereas 70 per cent of the females were divorced, separated or widowed. Again, as above, these households are drawn to certain high rises but do not dominate, as a group, in any one. The majority (67 per cent) occupied one-bedroom suites while 24 per cent occupied two-bedroom suites with the remainder occupying bachelor suites.

Therefore, the two outstanding non-related household types, comprising 32 per cent of high rise residents, are those unattached individuals between 25 and 34 years of age and over 44 years of age. Older households are commonly solitary females and in the younger group, unattached males.

Related Households

Related households are normally a family, consisting of a husband and wife (with or without children) or a parent with one or more children. Household-type nine is also included in this category: i.e., households composed of two or more adults where at least two must be related by blood or marriage (e.g., brothers, uncle, or grandparents). Related households (Table 4.3, p. 81), formed 53 per cent and 50 per cent respectively of the households in the questionnaire sample and the HRCD. Related households in all of Edmonton made up 82 per cent of the total households in 1966.

Childless Married Couples. Childless married couples were a common household type, representing 40 per cent of the questionnaire sample and 39 per cent of the HRCD (Tables 4.1, p. 79 and 4.2, p. 80). Fifty-two per cent of the husbands were under 35 years of age and 42 per cent were over 44 years of age. The average age of household head for younger couples was 26.8 years and for older couples, 60 years. Older married couples occupied all suite-types but were most frequently found in two-bedroom suites. However, as shown in Table 4.6, occupancy patterns

Table 4.6--Suite-Type Occupied by Childless Married Couples Over 44 Years of Age (Percentage)

	High Rise							
Suite-Type	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	HRCD Total
Bachelor	*	.....	.....	*	.....	16.7	*	1.8
1-bedroom	13.2	18.2	21.4	27.0	47.6	61.1	65.0	32.9
2-bedroom	86.8	81.8	57.2	59.5	47.6	11.1	35.0	58.8
3-bedroom	*	*	*	2.7	4.8	11.1	*	2.4
Penthouse	*	*	21.4	10.8	.....	*	*	4.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Suite-Type	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Questionnaire Data Total
Bachelor	*	.....	.....	*	12.5	50.0	*	5.3
1-bedroom	.....	.....	.....	33.3	25.0	50.0	60.0	23.7
2-bedroom	100.0	100.0	56.7	55.6	50.0	.....	40.0	60.5
3-bedroom	*	*	*	.....	12.5	.....	*	2.6
Penthouse	*	*	43.3	11.1	.....	*	*	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Suite-type absent.

varied by high rise. Older married couples predominantly occupied two-bedroom suites on the north side while on the south side they mainly occupied one-bedroom suites. Regardless of high rise, younger married couples occupied smaller units or one-bedroom units (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7--Suites Occupied by Childless Married Couples Under 35 Years of Age (Percentage)

	High Rise							
Suite-Type	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	HRCD Total
Bachelor	*	16.7	.....	*	.....	21.0	*	8.5
1-bedroom	100.0	50.0	75.0	80.0	87.0	67.7	87.8	77.2
2-bedroom	.....	33.3	25.0	20.0	13.0	11.3	12.2	14.3
3-bedroom	*	*	*	.....	.....	.....	*	.....
Penthouse	*	*	*	.....	.....	*	*	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

	Questionnaire Data							
Suite-Type	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total
Bachelor	*	.....	.....	*	.....	22.2	*	4.3
1-bedroom	100.0	50.0	.....	.....	88.9	77.8	92.3	87.2
2-bedroom	.....	50.0	.....	.....	11.1	.....	7.7	8.5
3-bedroom	*	*	*	.....	.....	.....	*	.....
Penthouse	*	*	*	.....	.....	*	*	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Suite-type absent.

These two groups also varied in their distribution among the high rises (Tables 4.1, p. 79 and 4.2, p. 80). Younger couples more frequently occupied units on the south side while only 18 per cent of the older married couples were attracted to these units. Furthermore, the importance of these two household types in the total occupancy of a high rise varies. Older couples represented as much as 45 per cent of the households in one high rise, and in another as little as 5 per cent (Table 4.2, p. 80). This same variation was found for younger couples under 35 years of age, although for different high rises. These two groups have one characteristic in common, that of having no children living with them, otherwise they are two separate and distinct groups, who differ in their occupancy patterns both in terms of suite type and high rise occupied.

Married Couples with Children. Parent(s) living with children are normally considered to be the typical family household. In Edmonton in 1966 they represented 75 per cent of the total number of households. It is significant then that only 12 per cent of the questionnaire sample could be considered as a typical family household. A factor of considerable importance explaining this pattern is the management policy which restricts households with children of certain ages (Chapter III). Also, the form of high rise dwelling units is not usually suited to the raising of a family.

Although small in numbers, these households are distinct in their characteristics. The majority (77 per cent) of household heads were over 44 years of age, 12 per cent were between 35 and 44 years of age and

11 per cent were under 25 years of age. Young preschool children, associated with young parents, represented 12 per cent of the children. Older children were more prevalent (Table 4.8), and those over 21 years old were either employed or attending university. School age children were all attending schools in the Edmonton area, and frequently travelled over three miles to reach their school.

Table 4.8--Percentage Distribution of Children by Age Groups*

	High Rise							
Age Group	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total
Under 6 years	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	36.3	14.3	12.2
6 - 14 years	.....	.....	.....	.....	50.0	18.1	.....	18.2
15 - 18 years	.....	.....	.....	50.0	37.5	9.3	14.3	24.2
19 - 24 years	.....	100.0	100.0	50.0	12.5	36.3	71.4	45.4
Total	.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percentage of Total by High Rise	0.0	3.0	3.0	18.1	24.2	33.3	18.4	100.0

* Questionnaire Data.

Parents living with children were the dominant family type. Only 15 per cent of these households consisted of one parent living with a child. Families normally occupied the larger suites (Table 4.9). They were not found in all high rises according to the questionnaire sample, but the HRCD showed them in all seven buildings, (Tables 4.1, p. 79 and 4.2, p. 80).

Related households are predominantly family households (only 2 per cent of these related households consisted of related adults living together) and are distinct from other urban families in that

Table 4.9--Suite-Type Occupied by Families with Children*
(Percentage)

	High Rise							
Suite-Type	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total	HRCD Total
1-bedroom	.....	.....	100.0	.....	.....	30.0	33.3	22.3	21.0
2-bedroom	.....	100.0	.....	25.0	20.0	30.0	66.7	37.0	65.1
3-bedroom	.....	.....	.....	25.0	40.0	40.0	.....	25.9	11.6
Penthouse	.....	.....	.....	50.0	40.0	.....	.....	14.8	2.3
Total	.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Questionnaire Data.

Table 4.10--Families with Children and Household Size*
(Percentage)

	High Rise							
Size of Household	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total	HRCD Total
2-person	.....	.....	.....	.....	40.0	22.2	.....	15.4	20.9
3-person	.....	100.0	100.0	50.0	20.0	66.7	83.3	61.5	62.8
4-person	.....	.....	.....	50.0	20.0	.....	16.7	15.4	11.6
5-person	.....	.....	.....	.....	20.0	11.1	.....	7.7	4.7
Total	.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Questionnaire Data.

the majority of them contained no children. When families consisting of parent(s) and children did occur, 45 per cent of the children were over 19 years of age. In Edmonton, in 1966, children over 19 years of age represented only 14 per cent of children in family households. The sample high rises therefore attract an abnormal proportion of family households with older children.

Occupancy Patterns

Two-person households dominated in the study sample, closely followed by one-person households, with the density of occupancy ranging from 0.4 persons per room to 1.8 persons per room (Chapter III, p. 74). One variable that helps to explain more clearly the relationship of space and number of people is age. Those households in the later stages of the family life cycle more frequently occupied larger suites. Older couples consistently lived in the larger suites in each high rise. Middle-aged couples, were never found in three-bedroom or penthouse suites, and 87 per cent of the younger couples occupied one-bedroom suites.

Non-related households did not follow quite as clear a pattern. Older individuals, generally widowed, varied in the type of suite occupied. However, 61 per cent occupied one-bedroom units and since they were all one-person households in the questionnaire sample it indicates a need or preference for space as compared to younger one-person households. Individuals 35 to 40 years of age, frequently living alone, favoured one- and two-bedroom suites. Unattached individuals under 35 years of age lived mainly in bachelor or one-bedroom units. Therefore,

it appears that, as age increases, preference for space also has a tendency to increase and constitutes one variable which influences density of occupancy patterns.

OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Employment Patterns

One outstanding characteristic of the high rise residents is the large percentage (19 per cent and 15 per cent respectively for the HRCD and the questionnaire data) of households whose head is not employed in the labour force (Tables 4.11 and 4.12). The proportion in the questionnaire sample also rises to 19 per cent when students are included.

Household heads out of the labour force were either over 44 years or under 35 years (Tables 4.11 and 4.12). Older unattached individuals over 44 years old, predominantly widows, were more frequently out of the labour force than any other household type. Households whose head was under 35 years old represented 37 per cent of those heads not in the labour force (Table 4.13), the majority being university students living in the two high rises on the south side. These households, unlike older unattached individuals, are minorities in their respective groups (Table 4.11 and 4.12).

Another large group of households has more than one employed member. The sample data were therefore divided into one-person, two-person, three-person and four and/or five-person households, and were further classified by full-time, part-time or student employment.

Table 4.11--Household Type and Occupation of Household Head (HRCD)

Household Type	Occupational Class*									
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4**	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7	Class 8	Unknown	Total
Unattached over 44	6.8	11.1	7.4	.....	16.0	6.2	.....	51.8	.6	100.0
Unattached 35-44	9.9	30.9	27.1	1.2	19.8	3.7	.....	3.7	3.7	100.0
Unattached 25-34	1.2	34.3	11.9	3.0	31.9	11.3	1.2	4.7	.6	100.0
Unattached under 25	.....	7.7	12.4	.8	36.5	10.1	3.9	27.1	1.6	100.0
Married couples over 44	27.6	20.6	22.4	.6	5.3	1.2	2.4	17.1	2.9	100.0
Married couples 35-44	8.1	38.7	29.0	.....	16.1	.....	3.2	3.2	1.6	100.0
Married couples under 35	2.6	25.4	22.2	.5	28.6	2.6	2.1	15.3	.5	100.0
Parent(s) with children	18.6	19.8	27.9	2.3	8.1	1.2	1.2	16.3	4.7	100.0
Related Adults	.....	28.0	20.0	.....	32.0	8.0	.....	12.0	.....	100.0
% Total	8.8	22.6	18.3	1.0	21.5	5.2	1.7	19.3	1.7	100.0

* For definition of 'Class' see pages 99 and 100.

** Class 4, artist, bohemians (Foote, et al., 1960, p. 402).

Table 4.12--Household Type and Occupation of Household Head (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Household Type	Occupational Class: Not Employed	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7	Students	Total
Unattached over 44	52.8	.....	2.8	16.7	5.6	11.1	11.1	.....	.....	100.0
Unattached 35-44	9.5	.....	9.5	33.3	19.0	14.3	14.3	.....	.....	100.0
Unattached 25-34	.....	2.9	8.6	2.9	31.4	31.4	14.3	.....	8.6	100.0
Unattached under 25	.....	.....	.....	7.1	14.3	14.3	35.7	7.1	21.4	100.0
Married Couples over 44	10.5	21.1	23.7	26.3	2.6	7.9	2.6	5.3	.....	100.0
Married Couples 35-44	.....	.....	75.0	.....	25.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0
Married Couples under 35	12.8	.....	8.5	12.8	23.4	23.4	2.1	8.5	8.5	100.0
Parent(s) with children	7.4	25.9	22.2	18.5	7.4	3.7	3.7	11.1	.....	100.0
Related Adults	.....	.....	.....	.....	50.0	50.0	.....	.....	.....	100.0

Table 4.13--Occupational Class by Household Type
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Household Type	Occupational Class							
	Total Not employed	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7
Unattached over 44	44.2	.....	3.7	16.7	5.7	11.1	20.0	.....
Unattached 35-44	4.6	.....	7.4	19.4	11.4	8.3	15.0	.....
Unattached 25-34	6.9	6.3	11.1	2.8	31.4	30.6	25.0	.....
Unattached under 25	6.9	.....	.....	2.8	5.7	5.6	25.0	10.0
Married Couples over 44	9.3	50.0	33.3	27.8	2.9	8.3	5.0	20.0
Married Couples 35-44	.....	.....	11.1	.....	2.9	.....	.....	.....
Married Couples under 35	23.3	.....	11.1	16.7	31.4	30.6	5.0	40.0
Parent(s) with children	4.6	43.7	22.2	13.8	5.7	2.8	5.0	30.0
Related Adults	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.9	2.8	.....	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Total	19.2	7.1	12.5	16.1	15.6	16.1	8.9	4.5

Two-person households were then grouped into six categories: (1) both members employed; (2) one employed; (3) one employed, the other a student; (4) both students, who may or may not work; (5) one employed, the other a student who works part time; (6) both not employed. Larger households were classified according to the number of employed members, whether one, two, or three.

One person households had the lowest percentage of employed persons (39 per cent). In only one case did this involve a student. The majority of the one-person households consisted of single women over 44 years of age, normally widowed, living on accumulated savings.

Two-person households represented 50 per cent of the sampled residents. In the majority of cases, both persons worked. Only 5 per cent of these households had no employed member (Table 4.14). Households with two wage-earners predominantly occupied the two high rises on the south side and the Panorama.

The distribution of multiple-wage earners is more clearly defined when two-person households are categorized by household type. Young married couples dominate those households where both members were fully employed (Table 4.15). Unattached individuals between 25 and 34 were predominantly both employed, while young unattached households under 25 were normally students, either employed or living with an employed person. These young households were the main multiple-wage earning households in the questionnaire sample. Other two-person households, particularly older married couples and a parent with a child, normally had just one employed member (Table 4.15).

Table 4.14--Employment Characteristics of Two-Person Households by High Rise (Percentage)
(Questionnaire Data)

	Employment						
High Rise	Both Employed	One Employed	Employed Student	Student Work	Employed Student Work	Not Employed	% Total
Strathcona House	54.4	16.7	57.1	50.0	37.5	20.0	40.2
Ambassador	8.4	10.0	14.4	50.0	37.5	20.0	16.1
Valleyview Manor	4.2	10.0	.....	.....	12.5	.....	6.2
Crestview	2.2	10.0	.....	.....	6.3	.....	4.6
Bristol Towers	.....	10.0	.....	.....	.....	60.0	5.3
Park	8.4	20.0	.....	.....	6.2	.....	9.8
Panorama	22.4	23.3	28.5	.....	.....	.....	17.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Total	42.8	26.7	6.2	5.3	14.3	4.7	100.0

Table 4.15--Employment Characteristics of Two Person Household by Household Type (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Household Type	Employment						
	Both employed	One employed	Empl/ student	Student work	Employ/ student work	Not employed	Total
Unattached 35-44	2.1	.....	28.6	.....	.....	.....	2.7
Unattached 25-34	12.6	.....	.....	16.7	6.2	.....	7.1
Unattached under 25	2.1	.....	14.2	50.0	12.6	.....	6.2
Married couples over 44	16.6	73.3	.....	.....	25.0	80.0	33.9
Married couples 35-44	4.1	6.8	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.5
Married couples under 35	60.4	16.6	28.6	33.3	50.0	20.0	41.9
Parent(s) with children	2.1	.....	28.6	.....	6.2	.....	3.5
Related Adults	.....	3.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Larger households, consisting of three to five persons, represented 11 per cent of the questionnaire sample. In 32 per cent of the three-person households, all members were employed, whereas 21 per cent had two employed members and 42 per cent had one employed member. The four- and five-person households were split almost equally between one and two employed members. The majority of these households were married couples with children.

Occupation

The classification system for occupation was initially adopted from Foote (1960, p. 402). After the HRCD was coded, his class four, creative and performing artists, was replaced by a sub-category of class two as there were few artists in the study sample. The classification scheme is based on education, job responsibility and earning power, an approach which has been recommended by Blishen (1958, p. 523). Eight classes were identified:

Class I: Top executives and managerial positions in large commercial and industrial firms.

Class II: Independent or highly skilled professionals and high government executives and functionaries.

Class III: Secondary managerial posts, proprietors of small and medium size firms, sales supervisors with independent responsibilities.

Class IV: Skilled professionals, not having independent positions, and generally still undergoing advanced training.

Class V: Low professionals (distinguished from professionals of Class II and Class IV), including grade and high school teachers, social workers, Chartered Public Accountants, government workers of medium rank.

Class VI: Clerical, white collar, non-managerial sales personnel.

Class VII: Blue collar and low status service occupations, such as domestic employment.

Class VIII: Out of the labor force (students, retired, unemployed). When discussing the questionnaire data, this class consists only of students.

As indicated in Tables 4.11, p. 93 and 4.12, p. 94, the first four classes absorb 50 per cent of the employed households in the HRCD and 51 per cent of the questionnaire sample. It is apparent that the top executives are not widely attracted to high rises. Professional and managerial occupations are the most prominent, and few household heads were employed in clerical or blue collar occupations (Tables 4.10, p. 93 and 4.13, p. 95). In contrast, in Edmonton in 1961, 17 per cent of the population was employed in managerial, professional and technical occupations. These correspond to the top five groups in the questionnaire data, where they formed 67 per cent of the household head occupations. High rise residents therefore have an abnormal tendency to be employed in high status occupations.

Occupation of household head is closely related to household type. Older unattached individuals over 44 years old, when employed, held extremely varied positions (Table 4.11, p. 93 and 4.12, p. 94). Unattached individuals 35 to 44 years old were predominantly employed in secondary managerial and secondary professional positions. Unattached individuals 25 to 34 years old primarily held secondary or low professional positions, and unattached individuals under 25 years old mainly held clerical positions. It is generally apparent that as age decreases occupational

class also decreases. Older married couples were predominantly employed in the top three categories, as were parent(s) with children. Younger married couples were frequently employed in secondary managerial and secondary or low professional positions.

The distribution of occupational types also varies by high rise (Table 4.16). Top executives and high professionals were more strongly represented in the north side high rises, particularly in the Valleyview, Park and Panorama. Secondary managerials were found in all high rises but accounted for 32 per cent of the household heads in the Panorama. Secondary and low professional groups were heavily represented in the two high rises on the south side and to a lesser extent in the high rises on the north side. Clerical occupational groups were found predominantly in the high rises on the south side and represented 27 per cent of the occupational groups in the Crestview. Blue collar workers were generally found in the south side high rises and normally represented caretakers living in the high rise. Household heads employed in lower status occupations gravitate to the high rises on the south side and Crestview, and are usually younger in age, while higher status occupational groups are found more frequently on the north side in the Valleyview, Park and Panorama.

Of these households having two or more employed members, the wife was generally the second employed member and 17 per cent were unattached roommates. Sixty-nine per cent of these employed members held low professional and clerical positions (Table 4.17). When the household head was employed in lower status occupations or was a student, the wife

Table 4.16--Occupation of Household Head by High Rise
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Occupational Class	High Rise							% Total
	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	
Class 1	21.4	.....	6.3	25.0	17.6	.....	1.3	7.1
Class 2	14.3	13.6	.....	30.0	17.6	13.9	6.7	12.5
Class 3	14.3	18.2	12.5	15.0	32.4	11.6	12.0	16.1
Class 4	14.3	13.6	.....	15.0	8.8	23.3	12.3	15.6
Class 5	7.1	9.1	12.5	5.0	14.7	11.6	26.7	16.1
Class 6	.....	27.3	6.3	.....	.....	11.6	10.7	8.9
Class 7	.....	4.5	6.3	.....	.....	7.0	6.7	4.5
Students	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.3	8.0	4.5
Not Employed	28.6	13.6	56.3	10.0	5.9	11.6	10.7	14.7

Table 4.17--Occupational Class of Second Person by High Rise (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Occupational Class	High Rise							% Total
	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	
Class 2	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.3	.....	5.1	3.7
Class 3	.....	.....	.....	40.0	.....	4.6	.....	3.7
Class 4	20.0	50.0	.....	20.0	8.3	4.6	7.7	10.0
Class 5	.....	50.0	.....	20.0	33.3	35.3	38.4	33.3
Class 6	80.0	.....	.....	20.0	50.0	29.4	33.3	35.8
Class 7	.....	.....	100.0	.....	.....	4.6	10.4	7.4
Students	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19.4	5.1	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Total	6.1	1.6	1.4	6.1	14.8	20.9	48.1	100.0

or roommate also tended to be employed in lower status occupations, to supplement the household income or to support a non-working husband.

Occupation and Suite-Type

Occupational class also influences the suite-type which is occupied (Table 4.18). There is a clear pattern of those employed in higher status occupations to occupy the larger suites. This further explains the distribution of households in high rises, as high rises with the larger, more expensive suites are those on the north side, particularly the Park, Valleyview and Panorama.

Table 4.18--Suite-Type Occupied by Occupational Class*
(Percentage)

Suite-Type	Not Emp.	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7	Student	% Total	Total
Bachelor	13.3	....	....	6.7	16.7	23.3	23.3	10.0	6.7	13.4	100.0
1-bedroom	15.4	2.4	9.7	14.6	17.9	19.5	9.8	4.9	5.7	54.9	100.0
2-bedroom	16.1	7.1	25.0	25.0	12.5	8.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	25.0	100.0
3-bedroom	....	50.0	12.5	25.0	12.5	....	....	....	....	3.6	100.0
Penthouse	14.3	71.4	14.3	....	....	....	....	....	....	3.1	100.0

* Questionnaire data.

Another factor related to form and cost of suite was view. Households having a view were those occupying suites facing the river valley, in which rent was generally higher. Again, suites with a view were occupied more frequently by household heads employed in high status occupations.

Income

The questionnaire data included the income of household heads, but only for broad income groups. Regardless of whether the individual worked or had another source of income, respondents were asked to give gross yearly earnings.

The association between occupational class and income is revealed clearly from the questionnaire data. The percentage in the high income categories generally decreases from class 1 to class 7 (Table 4.19). Households whose head is earning less than $6,000 per annum are mainly blue collar or clerical workers, or students at the University of Alberta. The distribution of annual incomes also varies by household type (Table 4.20). Older unattached individuals have varied incomes, partly because of their varied occupations and because many were not employed. Of the older married couples, 58 per cent of the household heads earned over $15,000 per annum. Younger household heads normally earned less than older household heads, and lower income groups were more prevalent in those high rises which were characterized by lower status occupational groups (Table 4.21). Within other high rises, however, the income pattern was much more diverse.

Income Housing Expenditure

Throughout this chapter, socio-economic characteristics of high rise residents have been examined. They can be distinguished from other urban residents at the aggregate level, and differences were also noted among the sample high rises. Since, however, high rise living is often considered to be a more expensive form of accommodation, rent income

Table 4.19--Income of Head by Occupational Class
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Occupation	Income Range in Dollars					
	Under 5,999	6,000/ 9,999	10,000/ 14,999	15,000 over	No income	Refused
Not employed	22.7	13.2	3.9	3.4	100.0	50.0
Class 1	.....	.....	.....	29.0	.....	.....
Class 2	.....	1.9	7.5	37.9	.....	.....
Class 3	.....	9.5	26.4	25.5	.....	33.3
Class 4	.....	18.8	43.4	3.4	.....	.....
Class 5	6.9	47.1	13.2	.8	.....	.....
Class 6	34.1	9.5	.....	.....	.....	.....
Class 7	13.6	.....	5.6	.....	.....	16.7
Student	22.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4.20--Household Type and Income of Household Head
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Household Type	Income Range in Dollars					
	Under 5,999	6,000/ 9,999	10,000/ 14,999	15,000 over	No income	Refused
Unattached over 44	25.6	11.5	17.0	1.7	41.7	66.7
Unattached 35-44	4.7	7.7	17.0	8.6	8.3	.....
Unattached 25-34	23.3	26.9	9.4	10.3	.....	.....
Unattached under 25	18.6	9.6	.....	1.7	.....	.....
Married Couples over 44	4.7	15.4	9.4	37.9	.....	16.7
Married Couples 35-44	.....	.....	3.8	3.4	8.3	.....
Married Couples under 35	18.6	21.2	30.2	12.1	41.7	.....
Parent(s) with children	4.7	5.8	11.3	24.1	.....	16.7
Related Adults	.....	1.9	1.9	.....	.....	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Total	19.2	23.2	23.7	25.9	5.4	2.7

Table 4.21--Income of Household Head by High Rise
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

High Rise	Income Range in Dollars: Under 5,999	6,000/ 9,999	10,000/ 14,999	15,000 over	No Income	Refused	% Total
North Side							
Valleyview Manor	.....	14.3	21.4	42.9	21.4	.....	100.0
Crestview	31.8	18.2	22.7	9.1	.....	18.2	100.0
Bristol Towers	37.5	25.0	18.8	12.5	6.3	.....	100.0
Park	.....	10.0	15.0	70.0	.....	5.0	100.0
Panorama	.....	8.8	44.1	41.2	2.9	2.9	100.0
South Side							
Ambassador	30.2	32.6	16.3	11.6	9.3	.....	100.0
Strathcona House	22.7	30.7	22.7	20.0	4.3	.....	100.0

ratios were calculated to test this belief. When these are combined with the other socio-economic characteristics, there is a clearer indication of whether households are living within or beyond their means, by residing in a high rise.

Households vary in the amount or proportion of income that they are willing or able to allocate to housing. Rents for the study units (Table 4.22) range from a low of $85 per month to a high of $600 per month.

Table 4.22--Percentage Distribution of Monthly Rent

Rent/Month	%	Rent/Month	%
$ 85-100	5.8	$176-200	20.1
$101-125	6.2	$201-250	13.0
$126-150	14.7	$251-300	4.4
$151-175	27.7	$301 >	8.1

Total 100%

Some 12 per cent of the households spent between $85 and $125 per month, while 26 per cent spent between $201 and $600 per month. When extra charges are included (for example, electricity, telephone and management services, such as parking), the total housing costs range from $1020 to $7440 a year. Older unattached households, which varied greatly in occupation and income, varied in the amount of income spent on housing, from 38 per cent to a low of 12 per cent. Overall, these older households spent more on their housing than the other household types. Since the majority of them were earning less than $6,000 per annum and frequently

around $3,000 per annum, it is quite obvious that any slight increase in rent would drastically affect their housing situation. Unattached households and married couples under 45 years old generally spent approximately 15 per cent of their income on housing. Older married couples spent even less proportionately, ranging down from 15 per cent to a low of 4 per cent. Therefore, the majority of households live well within their means, with the only problem or worry being the older unattached households seeking high rise accommodation which is close to their maximum rent paying ability.

MOVEMENT PATTERNS

Movement patterns generated by these high rise residents include daily trips to work, shopping trips, and leisure-oriented trips. In this section, discussion is focused on the high rises in relation to work locations and shopping locations for such goods as food and clothing. The number of trips is not examined although work activities normally generate two trips a day, going to work and returning.

Location of Employment

The major areas of work location are the downtown area and the University of Alberta. Of the employed household heads in the questionnaire data, 31 per cent worked in the downtown and 27 per cent in the University area. There is also a scattering of work places throughout the urban area and occasionally beyond.

The two prime locations dominate in all occupational classes, but work-location patterns also vary by occupational class and by high

rise. Top executives (Table 4.23) are mainly tied to the downtown and, to a lesser extent, to the industrial areas of Edmonton. High professionals are tied to the downtown or the University, as are clerical workers. Secondary professionals are generally tied to the University. Thus, for these three occupational classes the place of work was highly concentrated. Individuals in secondary managerial occupations, mainly self-employed or managers of smaller firms, worked in more dispersed locations. Lower professionals were more dispersed still.

Table 4.23--Location of Work Place by Occupation
(Percentage)

Occupation	North Side (Downtown)	North Side	South Side	University	Outside Urban Area	No Place	Total
Class 1	56.3	31.1	6.3	....	6.3	....	100.0
Class 2	26.6	13.9	6.6	33.3	13.3	6.7	100.0
Class 3	35.0	35.0	22.5	2.5	5.0	....	100.0
Class 4	19.5	17.2	2.4	58.5	2.4	....	100.0
Class 5	28.8	33.5	15.0	18.2	1.5	3.0	100.0
Class 6	48.0	15.7	7.6	19.2	5.7	3.8	100.0
Class 7	5.6	33.2	27.8	16.7	5.6	11.1	100.0

* Questionnaire Data.

As Table 4.24 indicates there is some relationship between location of high rise and location of work-place. The main pattern, however, is that north side residents, particularly those in the Park,

Valleyview and Bristol Towers, generally worked on the north side. A large number of the south side residents also worked on the north side, and their work places were generally more scattered over the city.

Table 4.24--Location of Work Place by High Rise*
(Percentage)

High Rise	North Side (Down-town	North Side	South Side	Univer-sity	Outside Urban Area	No Place	Total
Valleyview Manor	42.9	21.4	....	....	7.1	28.6	100.0
Crestview	36.4	22.6	9.0	13.6	4.5	13.6	100.0
Bristol Towers	6.3	31.2	....	....	....	62.5	100.0
Park	55.0	25.0	....	5.0	....	15.0	100.0
Panorama	38.2	38.4	2.9	8.8	5.8	5.9	100.0
Ambassador	16.3	9.3	6.9	53.5	....	14.0	100.0
Strathcona House	9.4	16.2	22.5	29.3	6.6	16.0	100.0

* Questionnaire Data

Shopping Patterns

To get some indication of other trip patterns, respondents were asked where they had shopped for convenience goods within the last week, and where they went to purchase such goods as clothing, appliances and furniture.

As indicated in Table 4.25, the majority of households went shopping during the week prior to the interview. Convenience goods were purchased predominantly at major food stores such as Safeway, L. Mart

Table 4.25--Distance Travelled to Shop for Convenience Goods*
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	North Side High Rises	South Side High Rises
	Location of Store	
Distance in miles	North Side Stores	South Side Stores
- .5	10.5	21.2
.6-1.0	53.7	41.8
1.1-1.5	2.8	....
1.6-2.0	16.2	6.7
2.1-2.5	....	....
2.6-3.0	....	....
3.1-3.5	....	....
3.6-4.0	....	....
4.1-4.5	.9	....
4.6>	....	....
Sub-Total	84.1	69.7
	South Side Stores	North Side Stores
1.0-1.5	....	4.2
1.6-2.0	....	....
2.1-2.5	.9	....
2.6-3.0	....	....
3.1-3.5	1.8	11.8
3.6-4.0	....	....
4.1-4.5	....	.8
4.6-5.0	....	....
5.0>	....	.8
Sub-Total	2.7	17.6
Did not go	4.8	4.2
All over	1.9	2.5
Corner store	6.4	5.1
Out of Town	....	.8
Sub-Total	13.1	12.6
Total	99.9	99.9

* Households who did or did not shop for convenience goods during the week prior to the interview.

and Woodward's Westmount. The distance travelled to obtain these goods was usually less than one mile. High rise residents occupying units on the north side seldom did their shopping at stores located on the south side. On the other hand, 18 per cent of the south side residents shopped at grocery stores on the north side. This is probably related to location of work, as many of these residents work on the north side and shop on the way home. Similarly, residents who shopped at extreme distances from the high rises tended to stop at a convenient store on the way home from work.

Shopping patterns for more specialized goods, such as clothing, appliances and furniture, are more oriented towards the downtown and, to a lesser extent, the major suburban shopping centres in Edmonton (Table 4.26). Residents of the north side high rises again indicated their preference for shopping at north side locations. A surprisingly large percentage of households shopped at Woodward's Westmount for all types of goods, perhaps indicating their dislike for the downtown. Shopping for furniture was generally restricted to the downtown or to major stores on 109th Street and 124th Street.

These high rise residents, although located in close proximity to the downtown and often working there, seldom used the downtown except when purchasing clothing or major household goods, such as appliances and furniture. This restricted use of the downtown was often reflected in comments that the downtown was too congested and awkward for parking.

Table 4.26--Places Shopped for Clothes, Appliances and Furniture for North and South Side Locations (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Location	High Rise	
	North Side	South Side
A. Clothes, Appliances		
North Side Stores		
Downtown	68.2	56.8
Westmount	21.1	7.7
Meadowlark	1.9	.8
Northgate	.....	.8
South Side Stores		
Capilano	.....	.8
Bonnie Doone	.....	17.8
Park Plaza	.....	3.4
All over	5.7	3.4
Did not shop	3.6	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0
B. Furniture		
Campbells	3.8	.8
Sprague	2.8	1.7
House of Modern	2.8	.....
Downtown	70.8	61.5
Westmount	10.5	13.0
Northgate	.9	2.5
Capilano	.9	1.7
All over	.9	3.4
Did not shop	6.7	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0

SUMMARY

This chapter has established the socio-economic characteristics of residents of the seven selected high rises and has distinguished high rise residents, in aggregate terms, from other urban residents. Taken together, these high rises attracted residents who differ from residents of more "traditional" types of housing in terms of age, household size, household composition and occupation.

These high rises were dominated by four household types: unattached individuals over 44 years of age; unattached individuals under 35 years of age; childless married couples over 44 years of age; and married couples under 35 years of age. To a lesser estent, parent(s) with children were also represented.

These households can be categorized into various life cycle stages. Older unattached individuals are in the final stages of the family life cycle scheme, or widowhood. Unattached individuals under 35 years of age have not entered into this family life cycle scheme but have already formed a separate independent household. Some of these households may never enter into the family formation scheme. Older childless married couples represent the 'post-child' stage and young married childless couples represent the 'pre-child' stage. Parent(s) with children generally represent the 'child-launching' stage. Therefore households attracted to these high rises represent the early and later stages of the family life cycle. This differs from suburban detached housing residents who normally represent the middle stages of the family life cycle scheme.

The high rise households were also distinct in occupation. The

majority were employed in high status occupations, and over 50 per cent of the household heads had annual incomes exceeding $10,000. Approximately one-fifth of the households had no employed member, while the prevalence of multiple-wage earners was high for two-person households.

The data also verified that the function of a high rise is influenced by the socio-economic characteristics of its residents. High rises differed in their resident profiles when household type, occupational status, location of work and shopping patterns were considered. It was also noted that high rises function in selecting particular residents, and that these residents pattern themselves among high rises according to age and household type. Not all the sampled high rises are unique in their function, but differentiate their function as to north and south side locations as noted by differences in resident profiles. When mobility patterns are examined, this differentiation, although not just restricted to north and south side, will be further distinguished.

CHAPTER V

MOBILITY OF APARTMENT DWELLERS

It has been found that high rise residents differ from other urban residents in their aggregate socio-economic characteristics, and that the residents of individual buildings differ from each other. These 'external' and 'internal' differentiations are significant in determining the function of a high rise in the context chosen in this study, that of residential mobility. In this chapter, high rise residents will be analysed and classified according to their past, present and future mobility characteristics.

MOBILITY OF HIGH RISE RENTERS

A common characteristic of renters, applicable to these high rise residents, is that they are extremely mobile. As indicated in Chapter II, mobility rates for renters are, on the average, twice to three times as high as those for owners (Foote, et al., 1960, p. 140). The questionnaire data indicate that of those households who had migrated to a high rise unit within the year, September 1969 to September 1970, over two-thirds were prior renters. Mobility rates for Canada indicate that some 44 per cent of the population had lived in a different residence 5 years before (Stone, 1969, p. 60). Over 90 per cent of the sampled high rise residents had moved within the last five years and almost three-quarters had occupied their previous dwelling

for less than five years, indicating that many of them had moved at least once in the five years prior to taking up their present residence. For almost two-thirds of the United States urban population that moved, the prior place of residence was within the same county, indicating that most residential movement is local rather than inter-regional. Of those sampled residents moving to a high rise within the past five years, nine-tenths previously occupied a residential unit in Edmonton; of those who had moved within the past year, three-fourths previously occupied a residential unit in Edmonton.

From this overview, it can be inferred that a large proportion of high rise renters are a mobile group changing residences frequently. There is also variation in mobility among renters, according to age and family composition. However, citing these mobility rates only partially illustrates the role of mobility in the residential function of the selected high rises. Such high mobility rates have strong implications for management. High turnover means more moves in and out, higher vacancies, and more units to clean up and redecorate; the management time involved in showing vacant units and receiving new tenants is also increased. All these factors are costs to the owner.

It cannot be disputed that these renters, in aggregate, represent a mobile group. However, it will be proven in this chapter that 'degrees' of mobility occur among high rise residents and that this influences the function of individual high rises. The data base allows mobility to be examined from many viewpoints. Frequency of past moves, present and past length of stay in residence, past tenure and structural

type of dwelling occupied, and location of previous dwelling can all be analysed and cross-tabulated with socio-economic characteristics. The residential function of these high rises then becomes explicit.

THE TEMPORAL SETTING OF MOBILITY

Migration Rates

The questionnaire data provide information on migration rates for the sampled residents in association with their socio-economic characteristics. Migration rates are derived from noting the number of moves each respondent made in the ten years prior to taking up residence in one of the sample high rises. The results correspond to other studies concerned with mobility and indicate that age or stage in the family life cycle are the most significant factors causing differential mobility rates (Rossi, 1955, p. 9; Simmons 1968, p. 626). Other factors, particularly occupation and education, were examined but no relationships with the mobility of high rise residents could be discerned.

Age and stage in the family life cycle are often used interchangeably when examining mobility rates, partly because data collection is normally tied to the age factor and partly because the two are autocorrelated. The results in this study indicate that stage in the family life cycle is a more reliable indicator of past mobility than age alone. Mobility is highest among single-person households, below the age of 44. Unattached individuals, 35 to 44 years of age, moved on the average 4.5 times in the ten years prior to occupying their present high rise unit; in the 25 to 34 year old group, the average was 5.1 and, in the under

25 year old group, 4.2. These single adults, because they have fewer ties, are able to tolerate a greater range of dwelling conditions and are more able to move on the spur of the moment.

Older households, whether married or unattached, whose head is over 44 years old, represent households in the later stages of the family life cycle. Their mobility is reduced. The average number of past moves for older couples was 2.2 and for unattached individuals 2.5.

Married couples with children represent two different stages in the family life cycle, child-bearing and child-launching (see Chapter IV). The average number of moves for these households is higher than expected, 2.5, or once every four years. This is because both types are classified in the category of parent(s) with children. Young couples with children had often moved frequently prior to having a child, and no doubt will move in the future, although perhaps not as frequently as their unmarried counterparts or young couples without children. These young childless married couples, in the early stages of the family life cycle, averaged 4.6 moves within the past ten years.

Past residential movement of the sampled residents varies by age but more specifically by stage in the family life cycle. Unattached individuals and childless married couples under 45 years of age have the highest rates of past movement and older childless couples the lowest. Classifying households by stage in the family life cycle can be misleading if it is assumed that households will follow through the various stages in the 'proper' temporal order. Many households may completely omit the

family life cycle and remain single, while others may omit the earlier or later stages. Also, noting frequency of past migration by age and stage in the family life cycle does little by itself in determining the residential function of a high rise. Apart from establishing that high rises do attract residents displaying varying degrees of mobility, it gives no indication of how long residents reside in high rises, whether they are permanent or temporary residents, and if they will continue to rent upon their next move.

Duration of Residence in the Selected High Rises

The following analysis is centred on how long each household occupied or had occupied a high rise unit. Using this factor, duration of stay, it was possible to establish other variables that cause differences in occupancy periods. These variables, analysed at the aggregate and disaggregate levels further define the impact of mobility on the residential function of a high rise. Duration of stay is investigated in three categories: residents who had left their unit at the time the HRCD was taken; those present at the taking of the HRCD; and the sampled residents.

1. The period of occupancy of residents who migrated before the HRCD ranged from less than a year to seven years. As illustrated in Fig. 5.1, the percentage of households that occupied units for longer periods, decreased with increasing time periods. The majority (62 per cent) left within a year and only 7 per cent remained in their unit for three to seven years. Figure 5.2 further demonstrates that the period of occupancy varies according to high rise.

FIGURE 5.1

DURATION OF STAY FOR RESIDENTS WHO MIGRATED BEFORE THE HRCD

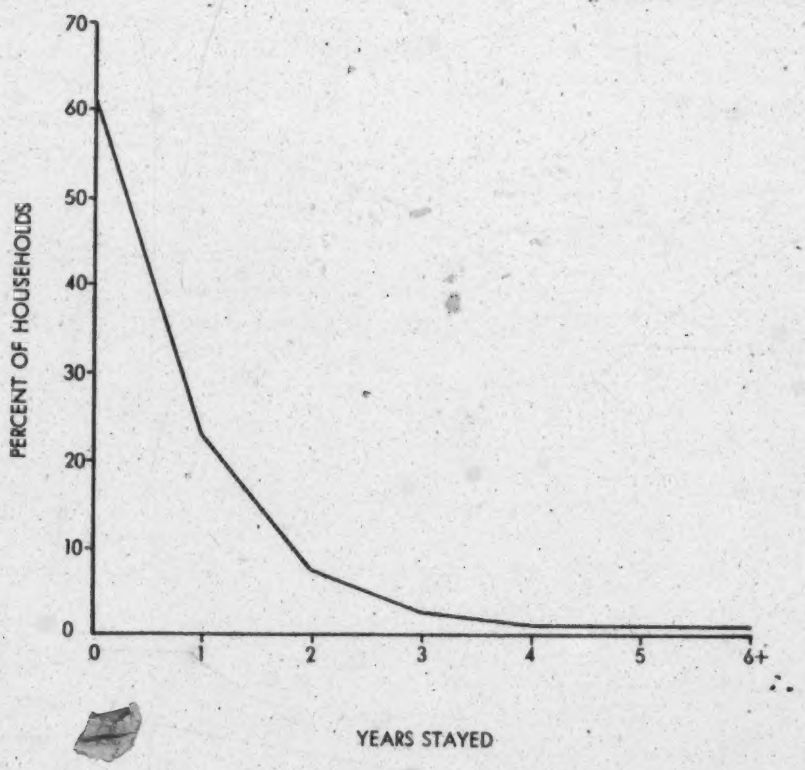
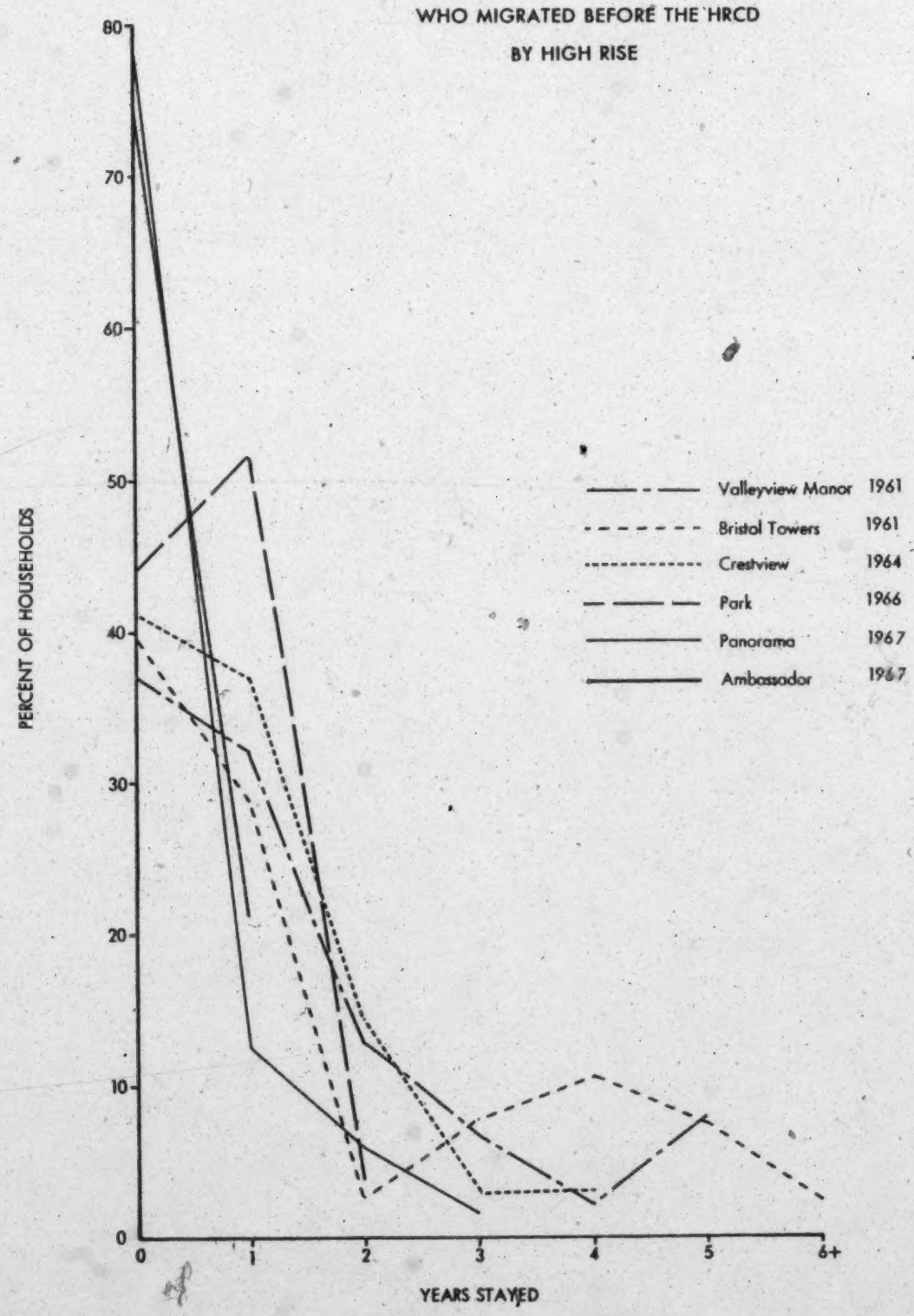


FIGURE 5.2 DURATION OF STAY FOR RESIDENTS WHO MIGRATED BEFORE THE HRCD BY HIGH RISE



2. Periods of occupancy for residents at the time of the HRCD partially clarifies the pattern noted above. One unexpected result was the small percentage of households which had occupied their units for less than a year; 20 per cent in comparison to 62 per cent in the previous set of data (Fig. 5.3). One explanation is that with the change in management for the Ambassador, many tenants were asked to leave because they were not considered 'desirable.' Another factor relates to the function of the high rise itself. Before it becomes established, a high rise commonly experiences an adjustment period of high turnover rates, before it acquires a more stable population.

3. The sample survey indicated that the majority of high rise residents (64 per cent) have occupied their units for less than two years, but there was also a significant portion (19 per cent) who have occupied them for three to eight years (Fig. 5.4). In addition, 80 per cent of those households who had lived in their unit for less than two years were residing in the two high rises on the south side. Discrepancies occur, caused by the shortness of time that some of the high rises have been open, but it appears that length of stay varies in each high rise. Only 19 per cent of the sampled residents living in the Ambassador, which had been renting for six years, had lived there for three to six years (Fig. 5.5). In contrast, 45 per cent of the residents of the Park, which had been renting for less than five years, had lived there for three years or longer. Bristol Towers and Crestview had both been renting for approximately the same period of time, yet the proportion of households who had occupied their units for one to two years was 15 per cent higher in the Crestview.

FIGURE 5.3 DURATION OF STAY FOR RESIDENTS AT THE TIME OF THE HRCD

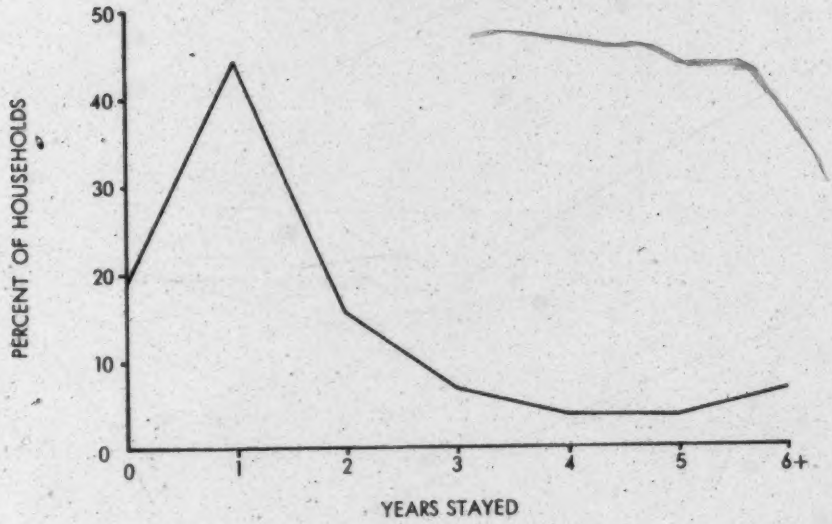


FIGURE 5.4 DURATION OF STAY FOR THE SAMPLED RESIDENTS (QUESTIONNAIRE DATA)

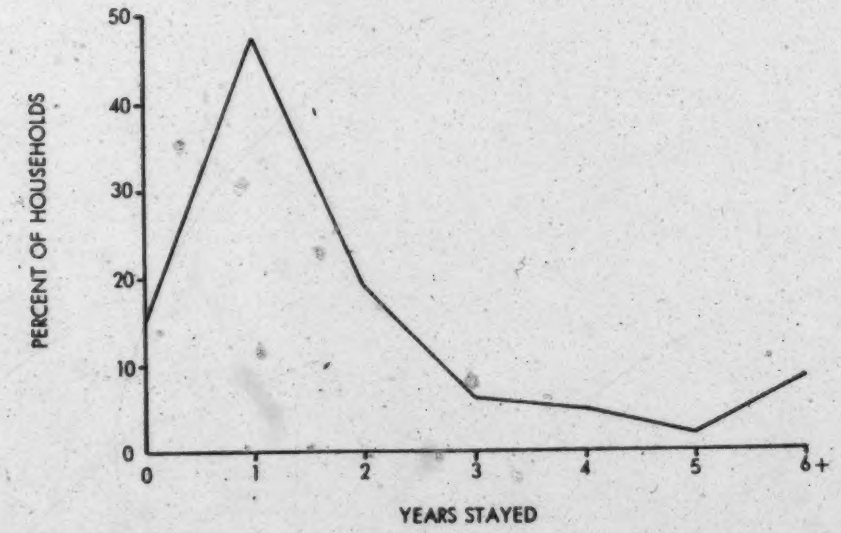
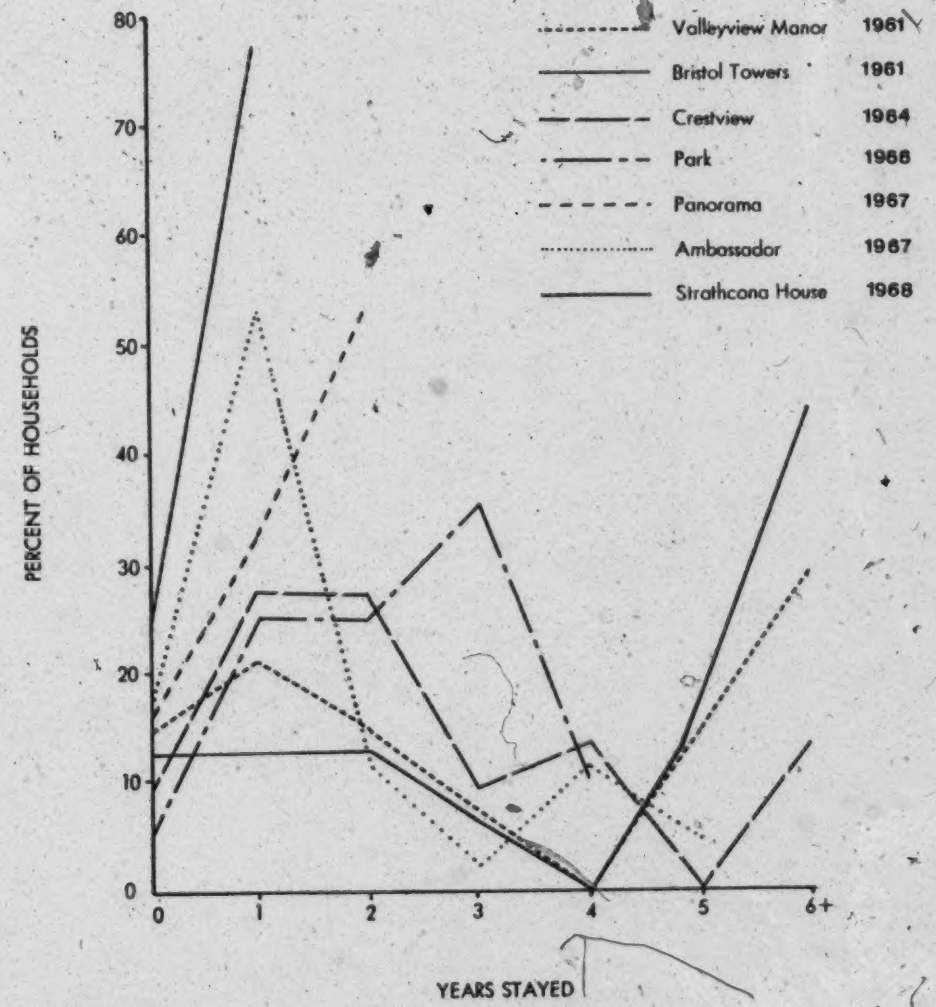


FIGURE 5.5 DURATION OF STAY FOR THE SAMPLED RESIDENTS BY HIGH RISE (QUESTIONNAIRE DATA)



Duration of Residence for Households

Length of stay and household type are directly related. Figures 5.6 and 5.7 indicate length of stay for related and non-related households. Regardless of whether the household is related or non-related, older heads have a definite tendency to occupy their units for a longer period than younger household heads. Households which left their units prior to a year's occupancy were predominantly young households under 35 years of age. Ninety-four per cent of these young residents stayed in their units for less than two years. There is an indication, however, that some younger households (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7), specifically between 25 and 34 years of age and younger married couples, occasionally stayed for longer periods.

Households residing longer than two years were normally over 34 years of age. According to the HRCD, 76 per cent of the households living in units for three to six years were over 34 years old (excluding parent(s) with children and related adults), and 60 per cent were over 44 years old. The questionnaire survey indicates that 71 per cent of the households living in units for three to nine years were over 44 years old, being equally represented for both older unattached and older married couples (Figs. 5.7 and 5.9). This clearly illustrates that older households more frequently occupied units longer than younger households. Parents with children also have a tendency to stay longer, although none have lived in a unit for over six years.

The residential function of high rises varies by household type when defined by length of stay. High rises predominantly occupied

FIGURE 5.6 DURATION OF STAY FOR RELATED HOUSEHOLDS (HRCD)

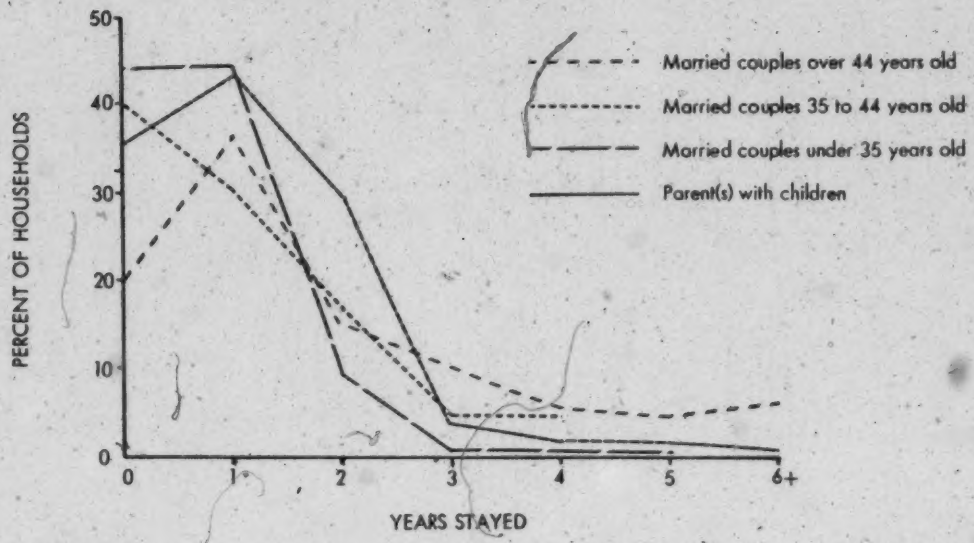


FIGURE 5.7 DURATION OF STAY FOR NON-RELATED HOUSEHOLDS (HRCD)

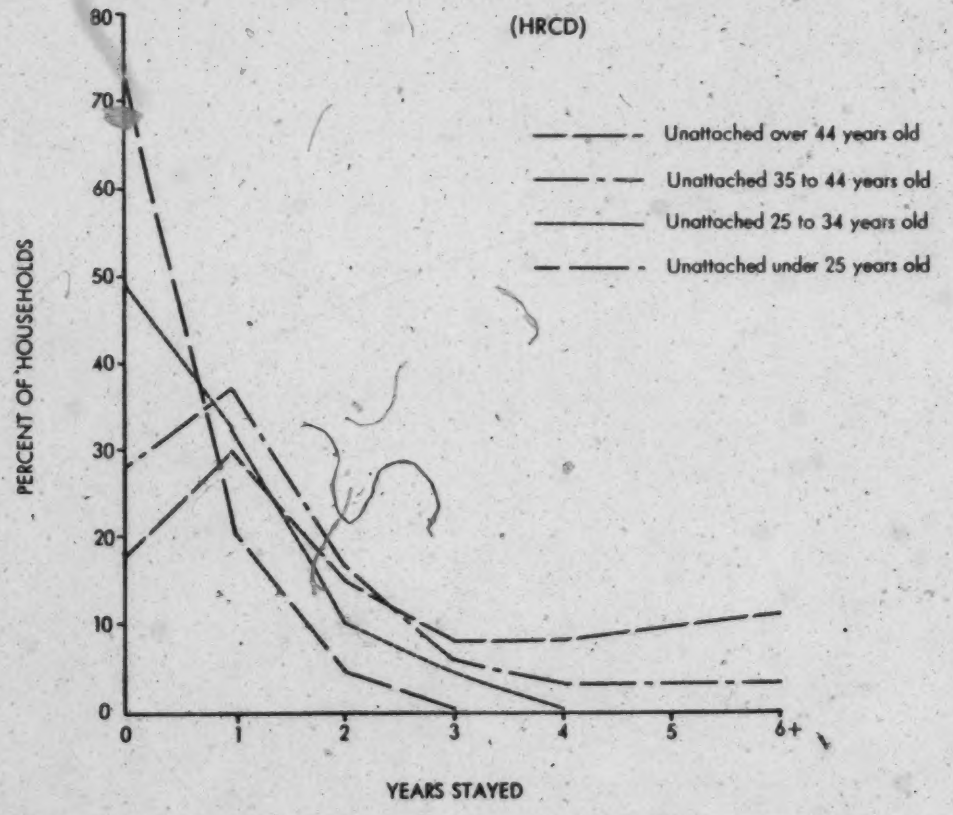


FIGURE 5.8 DURATION OF STAY FOR RELATED HOUSEHOLDS (QUESTIONNAIRE DATA)

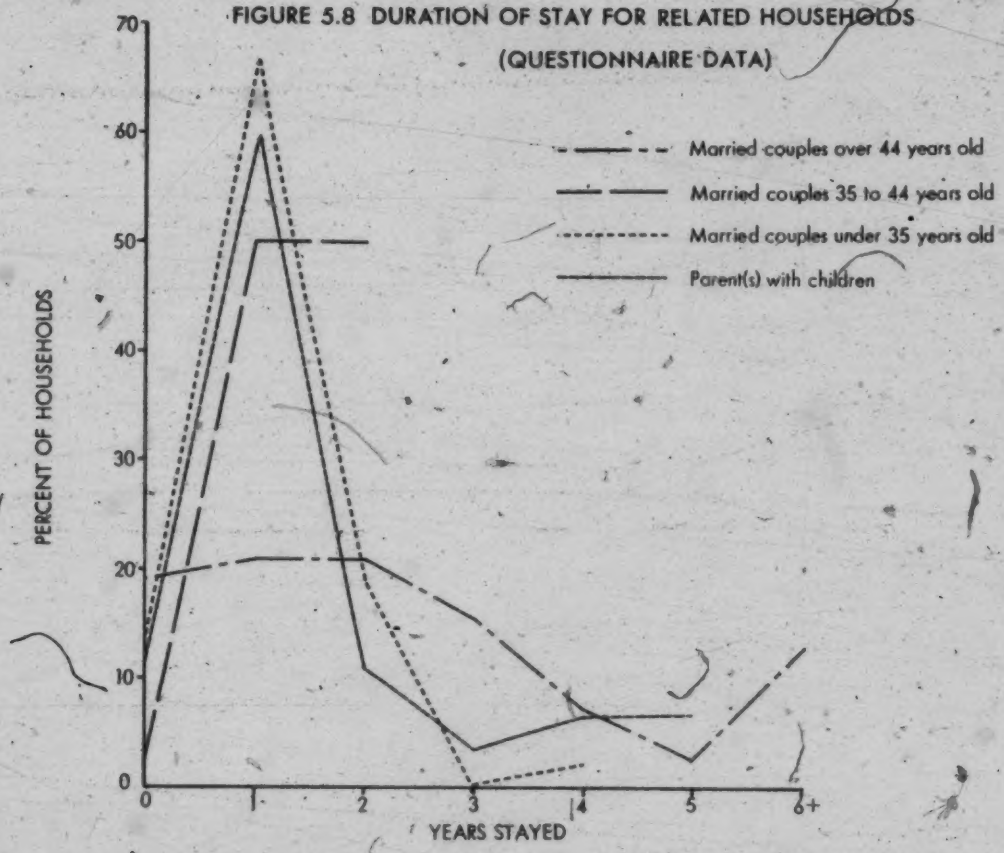
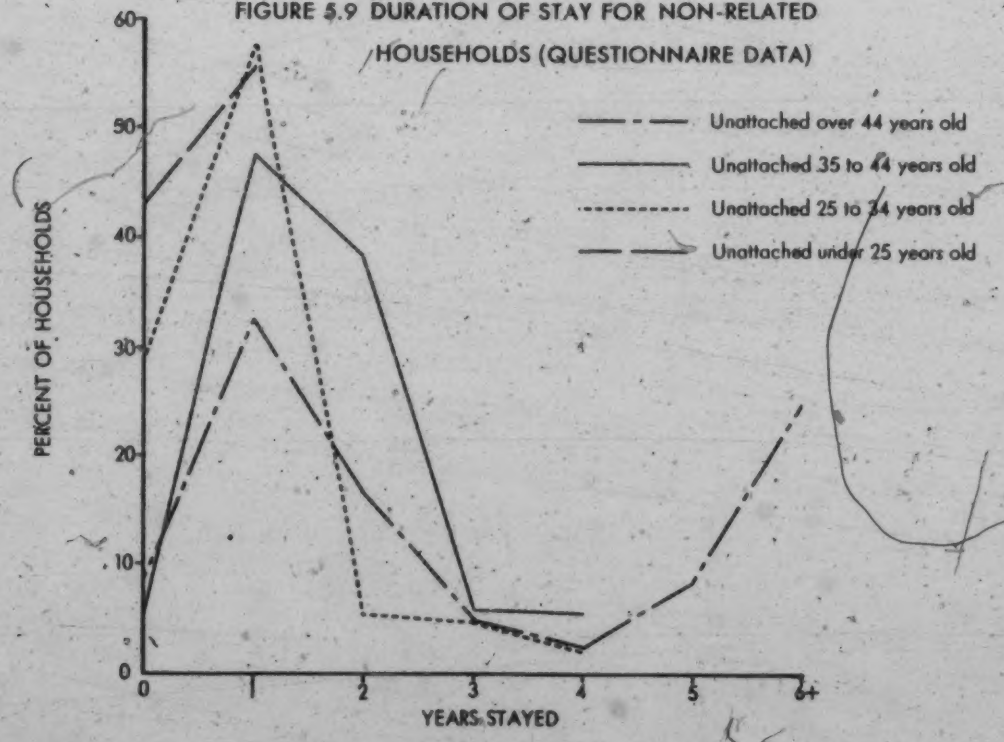


FIGURE 5.9 DURATION OF STAY FOR NON-RELATED HOUSEHOLDS (QUESTIONNAIRE DATA)



by younger households experience a higher percentage of turnover within a given period than a high rise dominated by older households. This indicates that a high rise, depending upon the households it attracts, will function more as a permanent or as a temporary residence.

Duration of Stay in Past Dwelling

An additional variable, available only with respect to the questionnaire data, was length of time the respondent had occupied his previous dwelling. Figure 5.10 indicates that 46 per cent of households had occupied their past dwelling for less than two years. Further breakdown of past length of stay by household type, as illustrated in Figs. 5.11 and 5.12 confirms the conclusions reached earlier. Older households aged over 44 years have more frequently lived in their past units for longer periods than younger households. Furthermore, these older households are more settled than younger households as indicated by their longer lengths of stay in both past and present dwellings (Tables 5.1 to 5.7). Households whose head was over 44 years old and parent(s) with children had more frequently occupied their present and past dwelling for longer periods than the other household types. Although 65 per cent of these households had occupied their units for less than two years, 51 per cent of them had lived in their previous unit four years or longer. On the other hand, 87 per cent of the households under 44 years old had occupied their present unit less than 2 years and only 44 per cent had occupied their past residence 4 years. Relying on the variables of past and present stay, it is assumed that older households, sometimes with

FIGURE 5.10 DURATION OF STAY IN PAST RESIDENCE (QUESTIONNAIRE DATA)

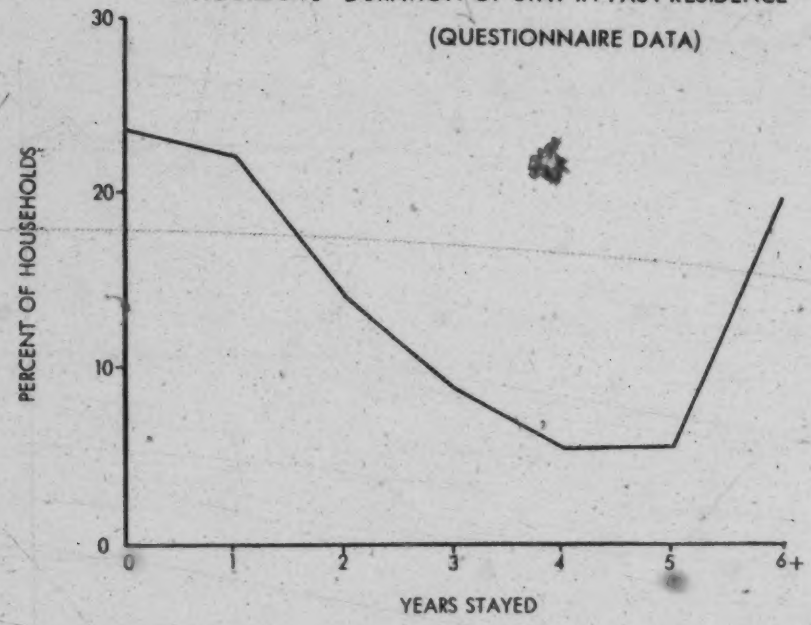


FIGURE 5.11 DURATION OF STAY IN PAST RESIDENCE FOR NON-RELATED HOUSEHOLDS (QUESTIONNAIRE DATA)

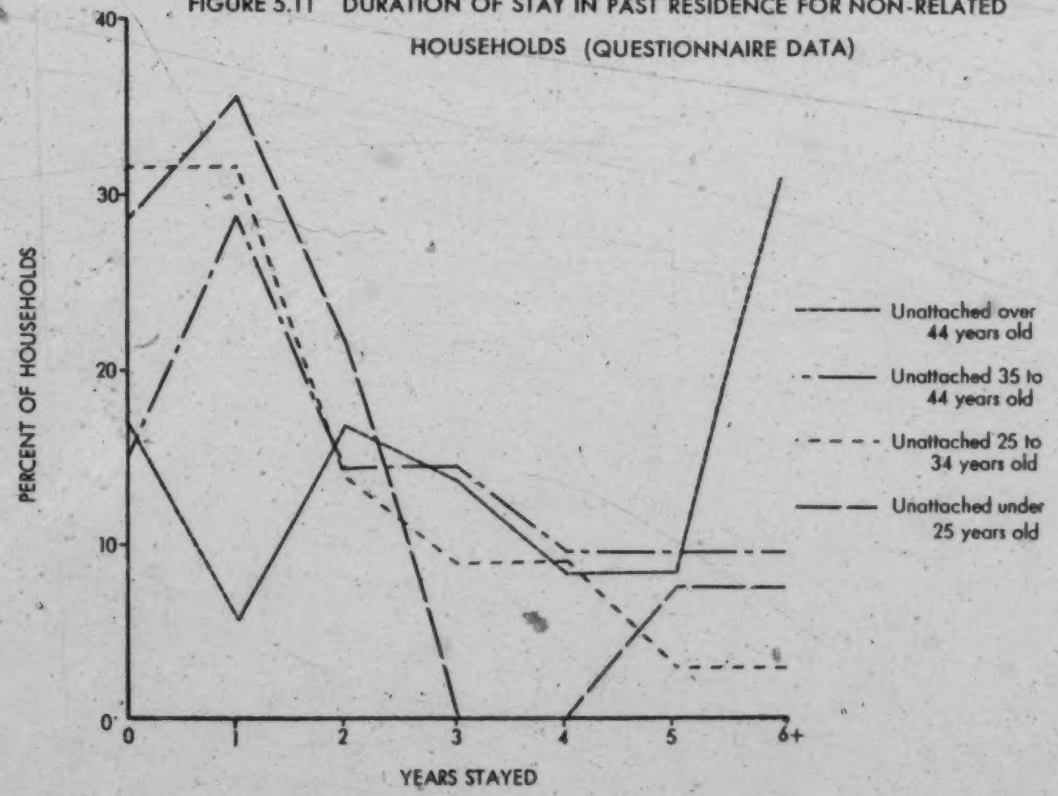


FIGURE 5.12

DURATION OF STAY IN PAST RESIDENCE FOR RELATED HOUSEHOLDS (QUESTIONNAIRE DATA)

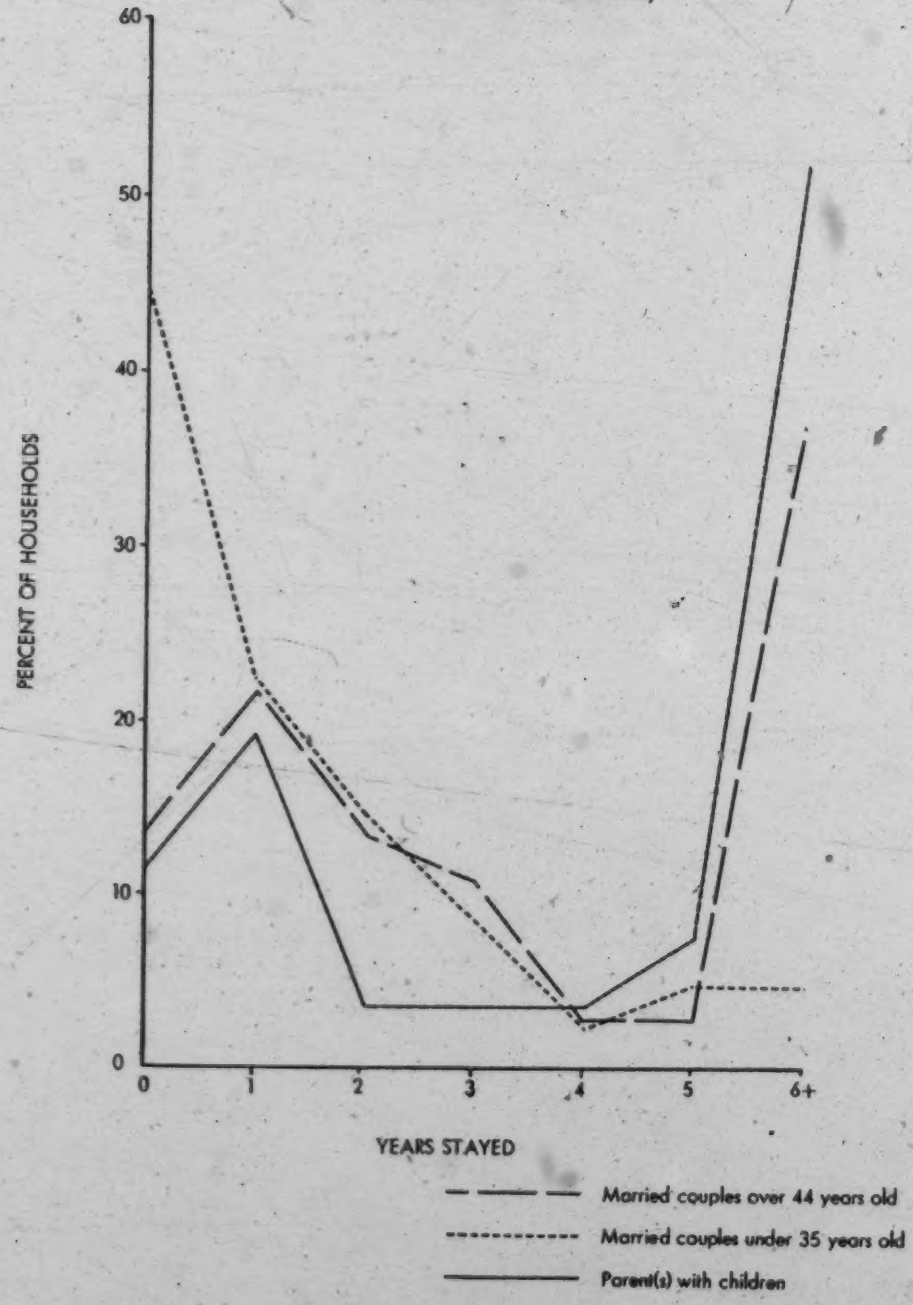


Table 5.1--Present and Past Length of Stay for Older Unattached Individuals over 44 years old*

Past Length of Stay in Years	Present Length of Stay in Years 0-1+	2-3+	4-5+	6+
0-1+	11.1	5.6	2.8	2.8
2-3+	22.2	2.8	....	5.6
4-5+	2.8	2.8	2.8	8.4
6+	5.6	11.2	5.6	8.4

100%

Table 5.2--Present and Past Length of Stay for Unattached Individuals 35 to 44 years old*

Past Length of Stay in Years	Present Length of Stay in Years 0-1+	2-3+	4-5+	6+
0-1+	28.5	9.6	4.8	....
2-3+	9.6	19.0	....	....
4-5+	14.3	4.8	....	....
6+	....	9.6	....	....

100%

* Questionnaire Data.

Table 5.3--Present and Past Length of Stay for Older Couples over 44 years old*

Past Length of Stay in Years	Present Length of Stay in Years 0-1+	2-3+	4-5+	6+
0-1+	18.5	7.9	....	8.9
2-3+	10.5	10.5	....	2.6
4-5+	5.2	....	....	....
6+	5.2	18.3	10.4	2.6

100%

Table 5.4--Present and Past Length of Stay for Parent(s)*

Past Length of Stay in Years	Present Length of Stay in Years 0-1+	2-3+	4-5+	6+
0-1+	25.9	3.7	....	....
2-3+	7.4	....	....	....
4-5+	11.1	....	....	....
6+	25.9	11.1	14.8	....

100%

Table 5.5--Present and Past Length of Stay for Unattached Individuals 25 to 34 years old*

Past Length of Stay in Years	Present Length of Stay in Years 0-1+	2-3+	4-5+	6+
0-1+	51.4	8.7	2.9	....
2-3+	20.1	2.9	....	....
4-5+	11.5	....	....	....
6+	2.9	....	....	....
				100%

Table 5.6--Present and Past Length of Stay for Married Couples under 35 years old*

Past Length of Stay in Years	Present Length of Stay in Years 0-1+	2-3+	4-5+
0-1+	53.2	12.8	....
2-3+	17.0	4.2	2.1
4-5+	4.2	2.1	....
6+	4.2	....	....
			100%

Table 5.7--Present and Past Length of Stay for Unattached Individuals under 25 Years old*

Past Length of Stay in Years	Present Length of Stay in Years 0-1+
0-1+	64.2
2-3+	21.4
4-5+	7.1
6+	7.1
	100%

* Questionnaire Data.

children, who have occupied their present unit for a short time will generally stay there longer than younger households.

Past Tenure Status. The majority (76 per cent) of households interviewed were prior renters (Table 5.8). Older unattached individuals occupying past rental units predominantly migrated from walk-up and other high rises (Table 5.9). Their average length of stay in these units was 3.7 years. For unattached individuals 35 to 44 years old, the average prior length of stay in rental units was two years. None of the unattached individuals 25 to 34 years old were former homeowners (Table 5.8). The average length of time these households lived at their previous rental unit was 1.7 years. Younger households under 25 years old either came from rental units or had lived with parents or relatives. These households, who averaged 2 years in their prior rental unit, predominantly migrated from walk-ups or basement suites. Older married couples, who rented their previous residence for an average of 4 years, commonly migrated from other high rises and walk-ups (Table 5.9). Younger married couples, under 35 years old were predominantly former renters for a short period of time (average of 1.4 years) and generally migrated from other high rises or walk-ups (Table 5.9).

Households who were former owners represented 17 per cent of the interviewed households (Table 5.8). Older unattached individuals over 44 years old, who were former homeowners, on the average, had occupied a single family home for 28 years. For unattached individuals, 35 to 44 years old, the average prior length of stay in a single family home was only 5.5 years.

Table 5.8--Past Tenure Status by Household Type
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Tenure Status				
Household Type	Own	Rent	Institutional Residence	Relatives	Total
Unattached over 44	25.0	58.3	5.6	11.1	100.0
Unattached 35-44	19.0	76.2	.....	4.8	100.0
Unattached 25-34	.....	91.4	2.9	5.7	100.0
Unattached under 25	.....	71.4	.....	28.6	100.0
Married couples over 44	18.4	81.6	.....	.....	100.0
Married couples 35-44	25.0	75.0	.....	.....	100.0
Married couples under 35	4.3	87.2	.....	8.5	100.0
Parent(s) with children	44.4	51.9	.....	3.7	100.0
Related Adults	.....	100.0	.....	.....	100.0
% of Total	16.5	75.9	.9	6.7	100.0

Table 5.9--Past Rental Residence Type Occupied
by Household Type*
(Percentage)
(Questionnaire Data)

Household Type	Past Residential Type								
	Same High Rise	Other High Rise	Walk-up	Converted House	Basement Suite	Duplex	Single Family	Institutional	Total
Unattached over 44	9.5	23.8	42.9	19.0	....	....	4.8	....	100.0
Unattached 35-44	12.5	43.8	6.3	12.5	12.5	....	12.5	....	100.0
Unattached 25-34	6.3	34.4	21.9	6.3	12.5	6.3	9.4	3.1	100.0
Unattached under 25	....	....	50.0	....	30.0	....	10.0	10.0	100.0
Married couples over 44	9.7	41.9	29.0	....	....	9.7	9.7	....	100.0
Married couples 35-44	....	100.0	....	....	....	....	....	....	100.0
Married couples under 35	4.9	26.8	39.0	4.9	9.3	4.9	7.3	4.9	100.0
Parent(s) with children	14.3	28.6	21.4	....	....	21.4	14.3	....	100.0
Related Adults	50.0	50.0	....	....	....	....	....	....	100.0

* For all households.

Older married couples over 45 years old who were previous homeowners (Table 5.8, p. 137) lived at their prior residence for an average of 19 years. Parent(s) with children were the most prevalent previous homeowners even though their past average length of stay was only 7 years (Table 5.8, p. 137).

For households who previously rented, the average length of prior stay ranged from 1.4 to 4 years. Older households stayed longer than younger households regardless of their previous tenure status. Previous homeowners, older unattached individuals, couples over 44 years old and older parent(s) with children, were extremely varied in their previous length of stay. The most stable households are those over 44 years old. It is evident that previous tenure status and past length of stay, when combined with household types and type of dwelling last occupied, are major variables indicating the mobility or stability of households.

Frequency of Past Moves. The final variable to be considered in conjunction with length of stay is the frequency of past residential movement, which varies by high rise (Table 5.10). In aggregate, the average number of moves per household in the past ten years was 3.6. Frequency of past movement is highly related to stage in the family life cycle and household type and should also vary by length of stay.

The study confirms the relationship between length of stay and frequency of past residential movement. Households which had moved once in the past ten years (13.4 per cent) were predominantly older unattached individuals, married couples over 44 years old and older parent(s) with children. Of these households moving once, 57.7 per cent had occupied

Table 5.10--Frequency of Past Residential Movement (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	High Rise							
Moves in Past	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	% Total
1	28.6	13.6	31.3	30.0	5.9	18.6	2.7	13.4
2	35.7	22.7	37.5	40.0	29.4	18.6	20.0	25.4
3	28.6	13.6	25.0	25.0	23.5	14.0	12.0	17.4
4	.....	13.6	.....	5.1	20.6	14.0	17.3	13.4
5	7.1	9.1	.....	.....	11.8	9.3	9.3	8.0
6	.....	4.5	.....	.....	5.9	7.0	20.0	9.4
7+	.....	22.6	6.3	.....	2.9	18.5	17.3	13.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Average	2.2	3.9	2.3	2.0	3.3	4.0	4.5	3.6

their present unit for three to nine years and only 3.3 per cent had occupied it for less than a year. Households moving twice, also tended to be older and had a definite tendency to have stayed longer in their present units, though there were some which had occupied their present units for less than two years. As households making increasing numbers of moves are examined, the composition of the household is younger, under 35 years old, either married or unattached and sometimes parent(s) with children. Length of stay in present unit decreases as number of past moves increases. Households diverging from this pattern are parent(s) with children and unattached individuals 35 to 44 years old.

Frequency of past movement is extremely varied at the disaggregate level (Table 5.10, p. 140). The average number of moves in the past ten years varied from 4.5 in the Strathcona to 2.0 in the Park and this can be correlated with variations in household composition. The Valleyview, Bristol Towers and the Park generally attracted older, less mobile households, while the Ambassador and the Strathcona are predominantly occupied by younger, highly mobile households. The Crestview and the Panorama seem to fall between these extremes. This suggests that high rises vary in function in terms of the residential mobility characteristics of their tenants.

MOBILITY INDEX

The next step in the analysis was to synthesize the various variables mentioned previously in this chapter. When used in combination, the role of these variables in distinguishing the potentially mobile households from the stable households is evident.

Each household was assigned an index, based on a scale pre-constructed from a selection of the variables which are related to mobility. An additional component was included, that of intention to move in one or two years (Rossi, 1955, p. 102). The scale took into consideration four separate dimensions of mobility: previous tenure status; length of stay in previous unit; length of stay in present unit; and intention to move in one or two years. These factors were considered to be independent from other characteristics of the household itself, such as age or household composition.

The weighting of these factors is dependent upon the part played by each in the mobility potential of a household. A household whose previous tenure status was rental is considered to be more inclined towards moving. The time a household had resided in their present or past residence was considered indicative of their potential mobility. The final dimension, intention to move, was weighted more heavily when the household had thoughts of moving. The scale developed and the weighting of each dimension are illustrated in Table 5.11. The maximum value a household could score was 17, the lowest was 1.

Any scale is arbitrary, but this one did appear to distinguish mobile households from stable households. Using the mobility index assigned to each household the sample was broken down into three groups: mobile, moderately mobile, and stable households (Fig. 5.13). As a result, 37.5 per cent of the sample were classified as mobile, 41.4 per cent moderately mobile, and 21.5 per cent as stable. Some differences among these groups are referred to below, and give further evidence of high rise specialization.

Table 5.11--Mobility Index

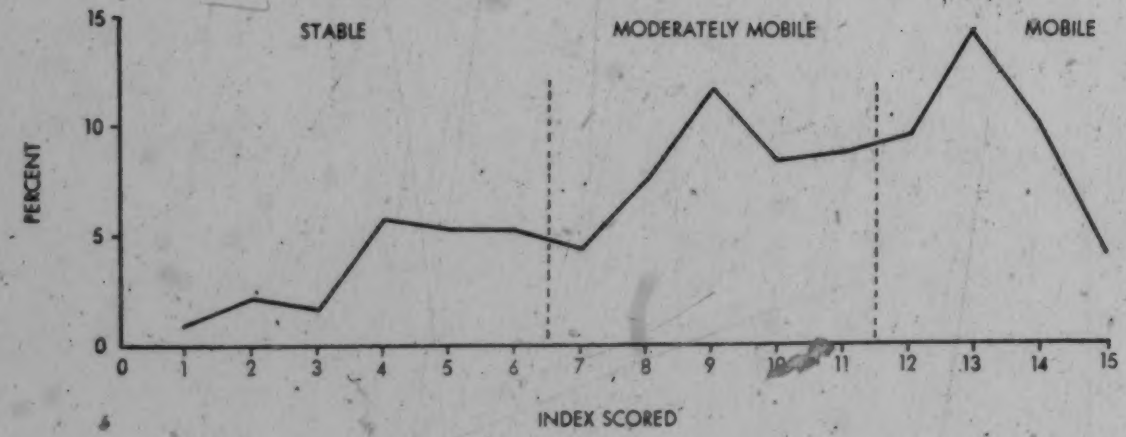
	Weight
Past Tenure	
Rent	2
Own	1
Past Length of Stay	
0 Year	5
1 Year	4
2 Years	3
3 Years	2
4 Years	1
5+ Years	0
Present Length of Stay	
0 Year	5
1 Year	4
2 Years	3
3 Years	2
4 Years	1
5+ Years	0
Intention to Move in One Year	
Yes	3
No	0
Indefinite	1
Intention to Move in Two Years	
Yes	2
No	0
Indefinite	1

Maximum Value 17

Minimum Value 1

FIGURE 5.13

MOBILITY INDEX SCORED BY THE SAMPLED RESIDENTS
(QUESTIONNAIRE DATA)



The Family Life Cycle

Further confirmation is given to the relationship between stage in family life cycle and mobility. When the household types are arranged in the approximate temporal order of the family life cycle, there is a declining incidence of mobility (Table 5.12). Only household type eight, or parent(s) with children, varies from this, since it includes both older and younger families. The patterns for the individual high rises are shown in Table 5.13. It is clear from this that high rises specialize in the residents they attract. Three high rises on the north side are heavily represented by stable households while those on the south side are dominated by mobile households. The other two high rises on the north side fall between these extremes.

MOVEMENT PATTERNS

In this section residential mobility is examined further in view of the type and location of previous residence. High rises are grouped together on the basis of the mobility characteristics of their residents, with the analysis focussing on the change in residential type associated with the move to the present high rise. The second part of the analysis is devoted to the last three moves, primarily within the context of change in the family life cycle. Although movements within Edmonton are emphasized, the analysis begins with a brief review of inter-urban migrants.

Table 5.12--Mobility over the Family Life Cycle
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Stage in the Family Life Cycle	Mobility: Mobile %	Mod. Mobile %	Stable %	Total
I. Premarriage				
(a)unattached individuals under 25	71.5	28.5	.....	100.0
(b)unattached individuals 25-34	60.1	39.9	.....	100.0
(c)unattached individuals 35-44				
II. Pre-child				
(a) younger couples under 35	65.9	34.1	.....	100.0
(b) middleaged couples 35-44	50.0	50.0	.....	100.0
III. Children in the home, (Parent(s)	33.3	48.2	18.5	100.0
IV. Post Child				
older couples over 44	13.1	44.8	42.1	100.0
V. Widow				
unattached individuals over 44	13.8	36.1	50.1	100.0
% Total	37.5	41.0	21.5	100.0

Table 5.13--Mobility of Households by Stage in the Family Life Cycle by High Rise (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Stage in the Family Life Cycle								
	Pre-Marriage			Pre-Child					
Mobility	-25	25-34	35-44	-35	35-44	Parent(s)	Post-Child	Widow-hood	Total
High Rise									
Strathcona									
Mobile	66.6	61.2	57.2	69.3	.....	33.3	20.0	.....	56.1
Moderately Mobile	33.3	39.0	28.6	30.7	.....	33.4	80.0	100.0	39.9
Stable	.....	.....	14.3	.....	.....	33.4	.....	.....	4.0
Ambassador									
Mobile	80.0	77.8	.....	88.8	100.0	30.0	50.0	.....	56.0
Moderately Mobile	20.8	22.2	75.0	11.1	.....	30.0	.....	33.3	25.7
Stable	.....	.....	25.0	.....	.....	40.0	50.0	66.6	18.6
Crestview									
Mobile	.....	25.0	66.3	.....	.....	.....	50.0	33.3	27.3
Moderately Mobile	.....	75.0	33.3	100.0	100.0	.....	.....	11.1	36.3
Stable	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	50.0	55.5	36.2
Panorama									
Mobile	.....	50.0	.....	44.4	100.0	.....	12.5	25.0	26.4
Moderately Mobile	.....	50.0	100.0	55.5	.....	80.0	62.5	75.0	64.7
Stable	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20.0	25.0	.....	8.7
Bristol Towers									
Mobile	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16.7	11.1	12.9
Moderately Mobile	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33.4	11.1	18.8
Stable	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	50.1	77.7	68.9

Table 5.13--(Continued)

Mobility	Stage in the Family Life Cycle: Pre-Marriage -25	Pre-Marriage 25-34	Pre-Marriage 35-44	Pre-Child -35	Pre-Child 35-44	Parent(s)	Post-child	Widowhood	Total
Valleyview Manor									
Mobile	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	7.1
Moderately Mobile	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33.4	50.0	42.8
Stable	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	66.7	50.0	49.9
Park									
Mobile	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Moderately Mobile	.....	.....	75.0	.....	100.0	100.0	44.4	.....	60.0
Stable	.....	.....	25.0	.....	.....	.....	55.5	100.0	40.0

Inter-Urban Migrants

Long distance migrants represent 25 per cent of the total migrants reported in the HRCD, whereas only 9 per cent of the migrants leaving the selected high rises in the HRCD migrated from the city. Furthermore, only a low percentage of households intending to move in the next one or two years expect their next place of residence to be outside the city. This tentatively validates the function of a high rise as a temporary port of entry for newly arrived residents before finding a permanent residence in the city.

Table 5.14 indicates past location of all out-of-town migrants according to high rise. Long distance in-migrants reveal some preference for the south side high rises and, in fact, many of them were employed at the University of Alberta and they were generally in the younger age groups (Table 5.15). The same patterns are more clearly defined for the questionnaire data (Table 5.16). The majority of these migrants are inter-city migrants and they were generally from the major cities, especially Toronto, Montreal and cities in the United States. The Park, Valleyview and Bristol Towers, in contrast, were predominantly occupied by residents who moved from within Edmonton, and who were stable, in terms of their past mobility characteristics. For the other high rises, which are more dominated by mobile tenants, the proportion of intra-urban residents was lower. Thus, inter-urban migration history further distinguishes the function of these high rises.

Table 5.14--Inter-Urban Migrants by High Rise (HRCD) (Percentage)

Place	High Rise: Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	% Total
1. Intra-Urban	63.6	70.4	88.0	74.8	73.2	50.4	69.2	66.2
2. Inter-Urban	12.6	25.0	12.0	7.9	20.3	32.4	30.8	24.6
City in Alberta	2.5	4.0	3.6	1.3	2.8	7.1	3.6	4.2
Alberta	.8	3.3	2.4	.....	.9	7.0	2.4	3.2
Canada	4.2	12.5	4.8	5.3	.9	9.5	12.0	9.9
Outside Canada	5.1	5.2	1.2	1.3	15.7	8.8	12.0	7.3
3. Unknown	23.7	4.6	.....	17.3	6.5	17.2	.8	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.15--Household Type and Last Place of Residence (HRCD) (Percentage)

Place	Household Type: Unattached over 44	Unattached 35-44	Unattached 25-34	Unattached under 25	Married Couples over 44	Married Couples 35-44	Married Couples under 35	Parent(s) with children	Related Adults	% Total
1. Intra-urban	87.5	67.8	59.7	58.0	73.4	45.2	61.5	62.6	60.0	66.2
2. Inter-urban	8.2	24.6	27.9	32.7	20.1	29.0	32.2	23.4	36.0	24.6
City in Alberta	1.9	3.7	2.4	9.4	2.4	4.8	4.2	4.7	16.0	4.2
Alberta	2.5	.....	.6	10.8	1.8	1.6	2.1	9.3	.....	3.2
Canada	1.9	8.6	11.3	9.4	12.4	12.9	14.8	4.7	16.0	9.9
Outside Canada	1.9	12.3	13.6	3.1	3.5	9.7	11.1	4.7	4.0	7.3
3. Unknown	4.3	8.6	12.4	9.3	6.5	25.8	6.3	14.0	4.0	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% Total	15.1	7.5	15.8	12.0	15.8	5.8	17.6	8.0	2.3	100.0

Table 5.16--Inter-Urban Migrants by High Rise
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Place	High Rise							
	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total
1. Intra-urban	92.9	72.7	81.2	90.0	70.6	65.1	74.7	75.0
2. Inter-urban	7.1	27.2	18.8	100.0	29.3	34.9	28.2	25.0
City in Alberta	7.1	4.5	.....	.....	.....	7.0	1.3	2.7
Alberta	.....	.....	6.3	.....	.....	2.3	2.7	1.8
City in Canada	.....	18.2	12.5	10.0	14.7	4.7	9.3	9.8
Canada	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.9	9.3	1.3	2.7
City in U.S.A.	.....	4.5	.....	.....	2.9	2.3	8.0	4.5
3. Elsewhere	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.8	9.3	2.6	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Intra-Urban Migrants: Move to High Rise

By far the majority of residents for both the HRCD and the questionnaire data were intra-urban migrants. The majority of households (Tables 5.17 and 5.18) migrated from multiple units, in the form of walk-ups, high rises, converted single family homes and duplexes. There was also an important tendency for households to move within the same high rise (internal moves). The tables (5.17 and 5.18) illustrate that high rise residents are not drawn exclusively from one residential structural type, but from all types.

From the questionnaire data, past residence varied by household type and by high rise (Table 5.19). Stable households were generally attracted to the Park, Valleyview, and Bristol Towers and were mainly Edmonton residents. They migrated primarily from walk-ups to the Valleyview, from single family homes to the Bristol Towers, and from other high rises to the Park. Their stage in the family life cycle, identifies them as stable renters.

The residents of the Ambassador and Strathcona were the most mobile of all, and the pattern of residential change was more variable for these two high rises. Many of the migrants previously rented single family houses or basement suites or units in converted houses. There was a smattering of stable households comprised largely of parents and older unattached individuals who had moved from self-owned, single family homes. However, these two high rises are predominantly occupied by mobile households drawn from a wide variety of housing types.

Table 5.17--Past Type of Residence Occupied (HRCD) (Percentage)

Household Type	Place: Intra-Urban: Same High Rise	Intra-Urban: Other High Rise	Intra-Urban: Multiple Unit	Intra-Urban: Single* Family	Inter-Urban	Un-Known	% Total	Total
1. Unattached over 44	15.4	11.1	16.5	44.4	12.5	4.3	15.1	100.0
2. Unattached 35-44	4.9	19.8	13.5	29.6	32.2	8.6	7.5	100.0
3. Unattached 25-34	3.6	20.1	9.5	26.5	40.3	12.4	15.8	100.0
4. Unattached under 25	2.4	11.6	17.0	27.0	42.0	9.3	12.0	100.0
5. Married couples over 44	5.3	14.1	10.0	44.0	26.6	6.5	15.8	100.0
6. Married couples 35-44	4.8	14.5	6.5	19.4	54.8	25.8	5.8	100.0
7. Married couples under 35	8.5	12.7	18.5	21.8	38.5	6.3	17.6	100.0
8. Parent(s)	5.6	7.0	10.5	39.5	37.4	14.0	8.0	100.0
9. Related Adults	4.0	8.0	16.0	32.0	46.0	4.0	2.3	100.0
% of Total	6.7	13.7	13.5	32.2	24.6	9.2	100.0	100.0

* Single Family: This category of the HRCD does not distinguish households occupying a light housekeeping unit in a detached single family home.

Table 5.18--Past Type of Residence Occupied for Intra-Urban Migrants by Household Type (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Household Type	Past Residential Type: Same High Rise	Other High Rise	Walk-up	Converted House	Basement Suite	Duplex	Single Family	Institutional	Total	% Total
Unattached over 44	6.2	15.6	28.1	9.3	.....	.....	37.5	3.1	100.0	19.2
Unattached 35-44	11.1	33.3	5.5	11.1	11.1	.....	27.7	.....	100.0	10.6
Unattached 25-34	8.3	37.5	20.8	8.3	8.3	4.1	8.3	4.1	100.0	14.5
Unattached under 25	.....	.....	36.3	.....	18.1	.....	36.3	9.0	100.0	6.5
Married couples over 44	11.5	42.3	26.9	.....	.....	3.8	15.3	.....	100.0	15.6
Married couples 35-44	.....	.....	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.6
Married couples under 35	6.2	25.8	32.2	3.2	9.6	3.2	12.9	6.4	100.0	18.6
Parent(s) with children	9.0	9.0	13.6	.....	.....	13.6	54.5	.....	100.0	13.1
Related Adults	100.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	1.2
% of Total	9.0	24.6	24.0	4.7	5.3	3.5	25.8	2.9	100.0	100.0

Table 5.19--Past Type of Residence Occupied for Intra-Urban Migrants by High Rise (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Past Residential Type	High Rise						
	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House
Same High Rise	23.1	.....	7.7	11.1	8.3	10.7	3.6
Other High Rise	15.4	18.2	7.7	44.4	50.0	10.7	19.6
Walk-up	46.2	36.4	23.1	5.6	16.7	17.9	28.6
Converted House	.....	9.1	15.4	5.6	.....	.....	7.1
Basement Suite	.....	.....	.....	5.6	.....	14.3	7.1
Duplex	.....	9.1	.....	5.6	.....	.....	8.9
Institutional	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10.7	3.6
Single Family	15.4	27.3	46.2	22.2	25.0	35.7	21.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Panorama and Crestview contain a mixture of mobile and stable households. The latter were generally drawn from single family units or duplexes. The more mobile households migrated from multiple units, mainly walk-ups and high rises. According to the questionnaire data, few residents of the Panorama migrated from walk-ups in contrast to 36 per cent in the Crestview. Conversely, the Panorama residents were more frequently drawn from other high rises (Table 5.19, p. 155).

Intra-Urban Migrants: Last Three Moves

If the inquiry is extended to the last three moves, within a ten-year period prior to living in the present high rise unit, it is possible to gain a broader insight into the relationships between residential type and stage in the family life cycle. The pattern, of course, is very variable: the questionnaire data disclosed that some households had moved only once in ten years, while others had moved over ten times. In the following sections, the high rises are grouped by their mobility characteristics, and the general trends in the rental status and life cycle change of the interviewed migrants are discussed.

The Park, Bristol Towers and Valleyview Manor. Past residential mobility for these residents was very low (Table 5.10, p. 140). For the immediate move (Tables 5.20, 5.21, 5.22) 46 per cent, 22 per cent and 15 per cent respectively of the Bristol Towers, Park and Valleyview samples migrated from single family homes. However, of those households making Move 2, 71 per cent, 70 per cent and 57 per cent respectively migrated from single family homes. These residents making two prior moves can be

Table 5.20--Three Successive Moves in Edmonton:
Bristol Towers
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Moves		
Past Residential Type	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3
Same high rise	7.7	.....	.....
Other high rise	7.7	.....	.....
Walk-up	23.1	14.3	.....
Converted House	15.3	.....	.....
Basement Suite	.....	14.3	.....
Single Family	46.2	71.4	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Households*	13	7	1

* Seven households made one prior move in the urban area. Six households made two prior moves in the urban area.

Table 5.21--Three Successive Moves in Edmonton: Park
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Moves		
Past Residential Type	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3
Same high rise	11.1	.....	.....
Other high rise	44.4	.....	.....
Walk-up	5.6	20.0	.....
Converted House	5.6	.....	.....
Basement Suite	5.6	10.0	.....
Duplex	5.6	.....	.....
Single Family	22.2	70.0	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of households*	18	10	1

* Nine households made one prior move in the urban area.

Table 5.22--Three Successive Moves in Edmonton: Valleyview Manor (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Moves		
Post Residential Type	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3
Same High Rise	23.1	14.3	33.3
Other High Rise	15.4	.....	33.3
Walk-up	46.2	28.6	.....
Single Family	15.4	51.1	33.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of households*	13	7	3

* Seven households made one prior move in the urban area.

classified into three types: migrants from single family units to high rise to present high rise; from walk-ups to walk-ups to present high rise; and single family to present high rise followed by an internal move. The dominant move pattern is single family to high rise. Regardless of whether these households which moved from single family units made one or two prior moves, the move from single family to high rise involved a change in tenure status. All were older unattached individuals or older married couples; that is, stable households for over the past ten years who changed residential structural type due to a change in the family life cycle. Thus the dominant trend, single family to multiple unit, is an expression of contraction of housing space prompted by children leaving home or the loss of a spouse. Change in rental housing reflects the desire to improve housing quality or readjust housing needs further.

Strathcona and the Ambassador. Residents of the Strathcona and the Ambassador were very mobile over the past ten years (Table 5.10, p. 140), the majority being recent newcomers to Edmonton. Of those residents who made one intra-urban move, over 70 per cent came previously from outside Edmonton and their initial place of residence in the city was either a walk-up or high rise. Of the housenolds which made two prior intra-urban moves, 50 per cent of those in the Ambassador and 60 per cent of those in the Strathcona were newcomers. All of the out-of-town migrants who entered the Edmonton housing market occupied rental units regardless of stage in the family life cycle.

Households making only one move prior to migrating to their present unit genetally came from single family homes and were either older

stable households or younger mobile households.

As Tables 5.23 and 5.24 illustrate, the type of residence occupied on two successive moves was extremely varied. Most of the residents were younger households, otherwise noted as mobile households. Their unstable characteristics are reflected in their repetitive frequent movement within the rental housing market. Of the households making two moves within the urban area, many came from single family homes and other multiple units and migrated to other multiple units prior to residing in their present unit. The majority of these households lived with their parents until they created an independent household by getting married or moving out to live with roommates. They generally migrated to rental units in walk-ups, basement suites, or high rises, with their final move to the present high rise representing a step to improve their housing. Of the households making three moves, most were young couples and unattached individuals who occupied a wide variety of housing types over their past three moves.

The Crestview and The Panorama. The majority of the Panorama and Crestview residents made over two moves in the past ten years, and in fact over 60 per cent of these residents had moved three or more times before residing in their present unit. Crestview residents who had made three previous moves came from walk-ups and single family homes (Table 5.25) with successive moves to walk-ups and high rises before residing in their present unit. These were either older unattached households or younger households under 35. The younger migrants had initially created independent households away from their parents and were predominantly migrating within the rental housing market in the city, improving

Table 5.23--Three Successive Moves in Edmonton:
Strathcona House
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Moves		
Past Residential Type	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3
Same high rise	3.6	.....	.....
Other high rise	19.6	13.6	5.5
Walk-up	28.6	20.5	16.6
Converted House	7.1	6.8	5.5
Basement suite	7.1	15.9	27.5
Duplex	8.9	.....	5.5
Single Family	21.4	36.4	33.3
Institutional	3.6	6.8	5.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Households*	56	44	18

* Fourteen households made one prior move in the urban area.
Twenty households made two prior moves in the urban area.
Eighteen households made three prior moves in the urban area.

Table 5.24--Three Successive Moves in Edmonton:
Ambassador
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Moves		
Past Residential Type	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3
Same high rise	10.7	.....	.....
Other high rise	10.7	8.3	16.6
Walk-up	17.9	16.7	.....
Basement suite	14.3	16.7	16.6
Single Family	35.7	41.7	66.6
Institutional	10.7	16.7	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Households*	28	12	6

* Seventeen households made one prior move in the urban area.
Four households made two prior moves in the urban area.
Six households made three prior moves in the urban area.

Table 5.25--Three Successive Moves in Edmonton: Crestview
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Moves		
Past Residential Type	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3
Same high rise	.....	6.3	.....
Other high rise	18.2	31.3	.....
Walk-up	36.4	31.3	50.0
Converted House	9.1	6.3	.....
Duplex	9.1	.....	.....
Single Family	27.3	25.0	33.3
Institutional	.....	.....	16.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Households*	16	11	6

* Six households made one prior move in the urban area.
Five households made two prior moves in the urban area.

their housing with each move. Older households which had made three moves had generally contracted their housing space prior to these moves and were also moving around for more suitable housing. In the case of the Panorama (Table 4.26), movement was generally confined to other high rises: of the households moving three times within these high rises, only 20 per cent were older couples. These households were also re-adjusting their housing.

Households making two prior intra-urban moves during the past ten years, tended to move from single family homes to walk-ups (Crestview) or high rises (Panorama), and were either older individuals and families or older couples moving as a result of changes in household composition. Of the newcomers to Edmonton, the older, married couples and parents with children generally initially resided in single family homes while younger, unattached or married couples, selected high rises. Both groups then moved to walk-ups or high rises before residing in their present unit.

Households making one move in the past ten years, predominantly migrated from single family homes. These were older, unattached households or married couples contracting their housing space.

Summary. The pattern of residential movement varies by high rise group and by characteristics of households. The sequence of residential change for stable households reflects contracting housing needs associated with the later stages in the family life cycle, and results mainly from the launching of offspring and the death of a spouse. For moderately mobile and mobile households, residential change is

Table 5.26--Three Successive Moves in Edmonton: Panorama (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	Moves		
Past Residential Type	Move 1	Move 2	Move 3
Same high rise	8.3	.....	.....
Other high rise	50.0	40.0	80.0
Walk-up	16.7	6.7	20.0
Single Family	25.0	46.7	.....
Institutional	.....	6.7	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Households*	24	15	5

* Three households made one prior move in the urban area. Fourteen households made two prior moves in the urban area.

influenced initially by the desire to create an independent household. Each successive move for all households represents a readjustment of housing to specific individual needs.

TYPOLOGY OF HIGH RISE RESIDENTS

Residential change must be viewed as a continuous process during which households express their changing household needs, at least partially, in the type of housing which they occupy. This process does not stop with residence in one of the sampled high rises, and a useful complement to the analysis of past migratory behaviour is an examination of known moves from the selected high rises as indicated in the HRCD, and the future moves anticipated by the questionnaire respondents.

A typology of residents, derived from the mobility characteristics discussed previously and from future intentions, can be developed. Basing this typology on 'stated intention to move in one or two years' does not necessarily imply that the tennant will move. Rossi (1955, p. 105) suggests though, that it is fairly reliable. Table 5.27 indicates the response of stable, moderately mobile and mobile households when asked "are you thinking of moving in the next year?" and "the next two years?" Forty-four per cent of the respondents indicated their intention to move in the next year (Table 5.28), and an additional 15 per cent desired to move within the next two years. Households intending to move, predominantly mobile or moderately mobile (Table 5.27) are found mainly in the two high rises on the south side and, to a

Table 5.27--Mobility of Household and Stated Intention to Move (Percentage) (Questionnaire)

	Mobility			
	Mobile	Moderately Mobile	Stable	Total
Intention to Move in One Year				
Yes	62.2	29.6	8.2	100.0
No	17.3	49.5	33.2	100.0
Indefinite	50.0	50.0	.....	100.0
Intention to Move in Two Years				
Yes	44.2	47.0	8.8	100.0
No	2.7	50.0	47.3	100.0
Indefinite	27.6	55.6	16.8	100.0

Table 5.28--Percentage of Household Intending to Move in One or Two Years (Questionnaire Data)

Household Type	Intention to Move in One Year				Intention to Move in Two Years				
	Yes	No	Indefinite	Total	Yes	No	Indefinite	Response to move in 1 year	Total
Unattached over 44	16.7	83.3	....	100.0	8.3	72.2	2.8	16.7	100.0
Unattached 35-44	38.1	57.1	4.8	100.0	23.8	28.6	4.8	42.9	100.0
Unattached 25-34	60.0	34.3	5.7	100.0	11.4	11.4	14.3	62.9	100.0
Unattached under 25	71.4	28.6	....	100.0	21.4	....	7.1	71.4	100.0
Married couples over 44	21.1	76.3	2.6	100.0	5.3	63.2	10.5	21.1	100.0
Married couples 35-44	60.0	40.0	....	100.0	40.0	20.0	....	40.0	100.0
Married couples under 35	66.0	34.0	....	100.0	23.4	2.1	8.5	66.0	100.0
Parent(s) with children	42.3	57.6	....	100.0	15.4	34.6	3.8	46.2	100.0
Related Adults	....	100.0	....	100.0	....	....	....	....	.....
% Total	43.8	54.4	1.8	100.0	15.2	32.1	8.0	44.6	100.0

lesser extent, in the Panorama and Crestview on the north side. These are the same high rises in which younger unattached or married households are heavily represented. Some stable households also plan to move but not enough to weaken the generalization. It is therefore possible to extend the categorization of high rise residents to embrace probable future mobility, by differentiating between hard core renters, or confirmed apartment dwellers, and non-hard core renters, or non-confirmed apartment dwellers (Norcross and Hyson, 1968, pp. 53-58). The purpose of this typology is to identify those households who are unlikely to move from those who have a higher propensity to move, and their future housing aspirations.

Hard Core Renters

Households who were intending not to move within the next two years, were older unattached individuals and married couples over 44 years old. They planned to remain in their high rise unit for an indefinite time. Of the older unattached individuals planning to move within the next two years (28 per cent) none thought of owning and 70 per cent stated intentions of renting. Table 5.29 exhibits types of future residence desired. This illustrates that these older unattached households are the prime example of confirmed apartment dwellers and, more specifically, hard core high rise renters. The pattern is further reinforced by the HRCD (Table 5.30). Those households that migrated from a high rise unit predominantly moved to other high rise units. When the questionnaire respondents were asked what type of residence they would like to live in

Table 5.29--Confirmed Apartment Dwellers

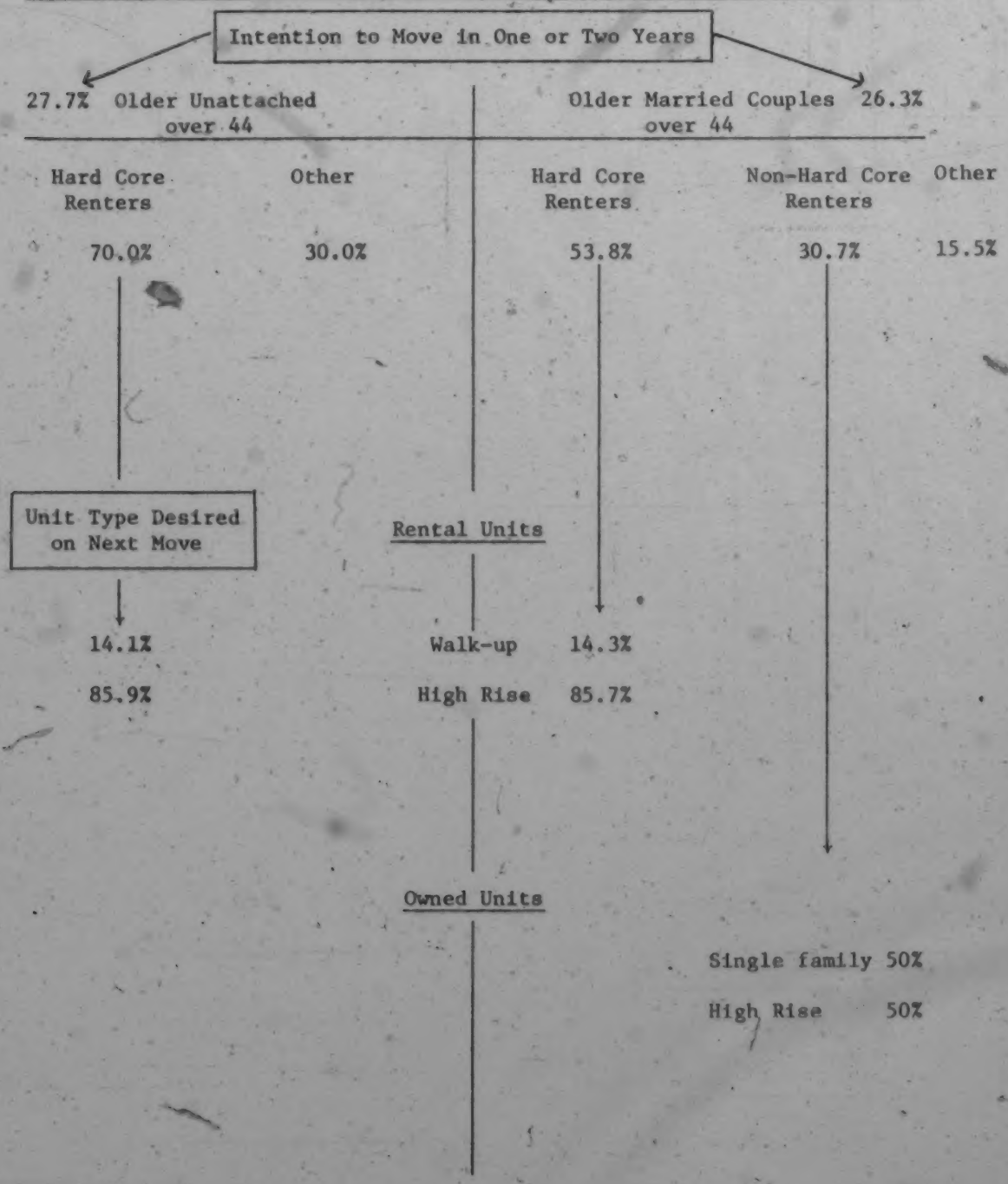


Table 5.30--Household Type and Future Residence Type Occupied (Percentage) (HRCD)

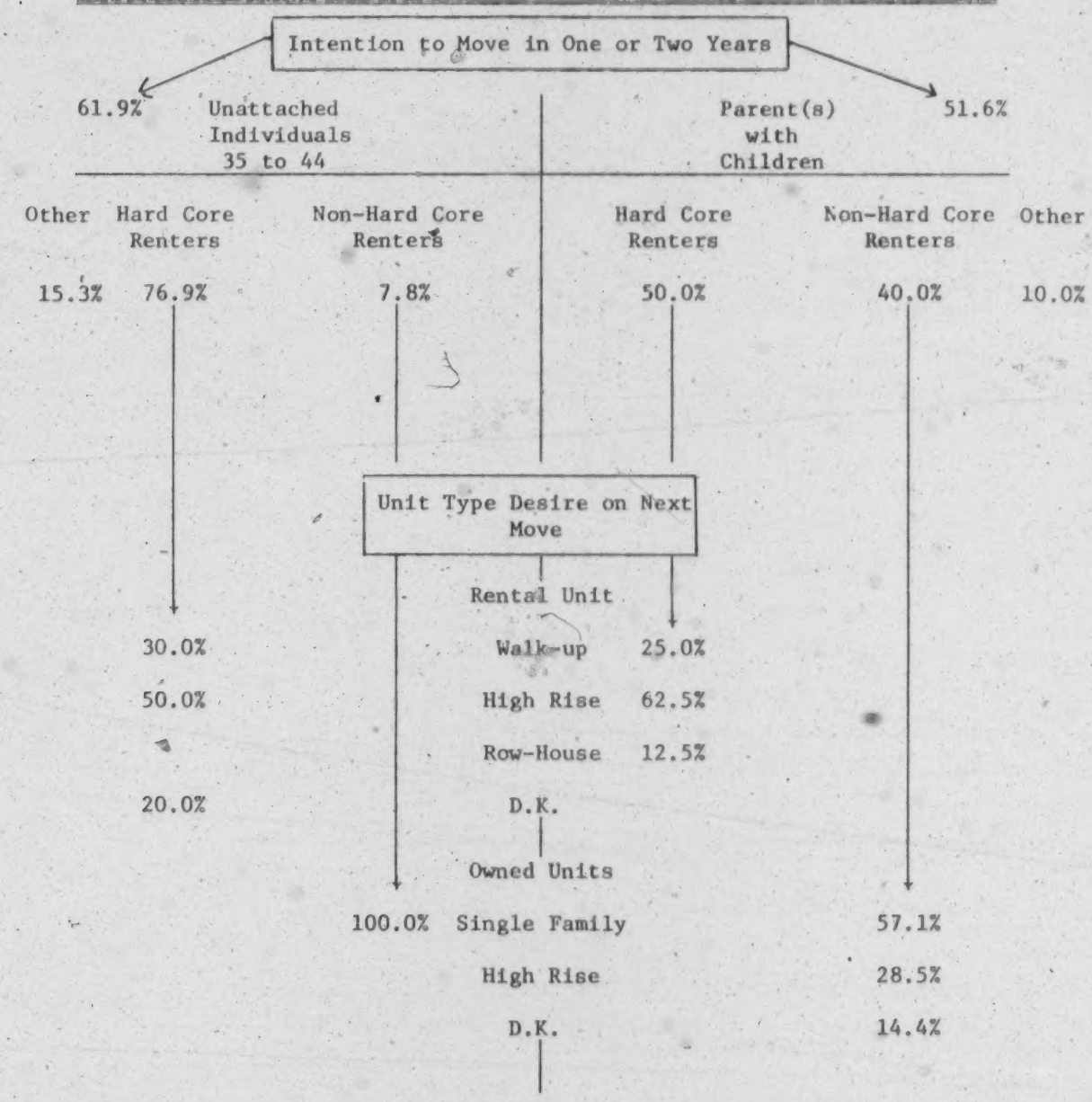
Household Type	Future Residence Type								
	Not Move	Same High Rise	Other High Rise	Multi-Unit	Single Family	Elsewhere	Unknown	% Total	Total
Unattached over 44	66.0	9.9	3.7	1.2	3.7	5.6	9.3	15.1	100.0
Unattached 35-44	61.7	3.7	6.2	4.9	4.9	12.3	6.2	7.5	100.0
Unattached 25-34	55.0	5.3	5.3	10.1	7.7	8.6	7.7	15.8	100.0
Unattached under 25	38.0	5.5	5.4	11.7	7.8	16.3	15.5	12.0	100.0
Married couples over 44	62.4	8.8	7.6	1.8	3.5	8.8	7.1	15.8	100.0
Married couples 35-44	35.5	3.2	11.3	16.1	21.0	6.5	6.5	5.8	100.0
Married couples under 35	53.5	4.8	4.8	9.5	6.3	7.4	3.7	17.6	100.0
Parent(s) with children	47.7	8.1	10.5	4.7	11.6	11.6	5.8	8.0	100.0
Related Adults	52.0	12.0	4.0	....	16.0	4.0	12.0	2.3	100.0
% Total	56.1	6.6	6.2	6.8	7.3	9.2	7.8	100.0	100.0

if they could do as they please, only 6 per cent indicated a preference for single family homes. The others desired multiple residential structures, with 22 per cent desiring a medium high rise and 58 per cent a high rise.

Of the older married couples, the other major group of hard core renters, 63 per cent had no intention of moving in the next two years and 11 per cent were indefinite (Table 5.29, p. 172). Those planning on moving were split between rental and ownership status: 31 per cent stated their intention of owning their next dwelling, preferring either a single family home or a unit in a high rise condominium; 54 per cent intended to seek rental accommodation, with a strong preference (86 per cent) for other high rises. The HRCD again confirms this pattern. Those couples who moved from their high rise unit migrated to another high rise unit and, to a lesser extent, to single family homes. Therefore, these older married couples are major contenders in the multiple family residential housing market, although there is a slight tendency for them to change their tenure status. They are, on the whole, confirmed apartment dwellers.

Other confirmed apartment dwellers are unattached individuals 35 to 44 years old and older parent(s) with children. Sixty-two per cent of the unattached group (Table 5.31) intended to move in two years; 77 per cent stated their intention of renting, preferably in other high rises (50 per cent) and walk-ups (30 per cent). The HRCD also showed that this group mainly remained within the rental market, frequently moving to other multiple units. Some, however, moved to owned single family homes, which

Table 5.31--Confirmed Apartment Dwellers

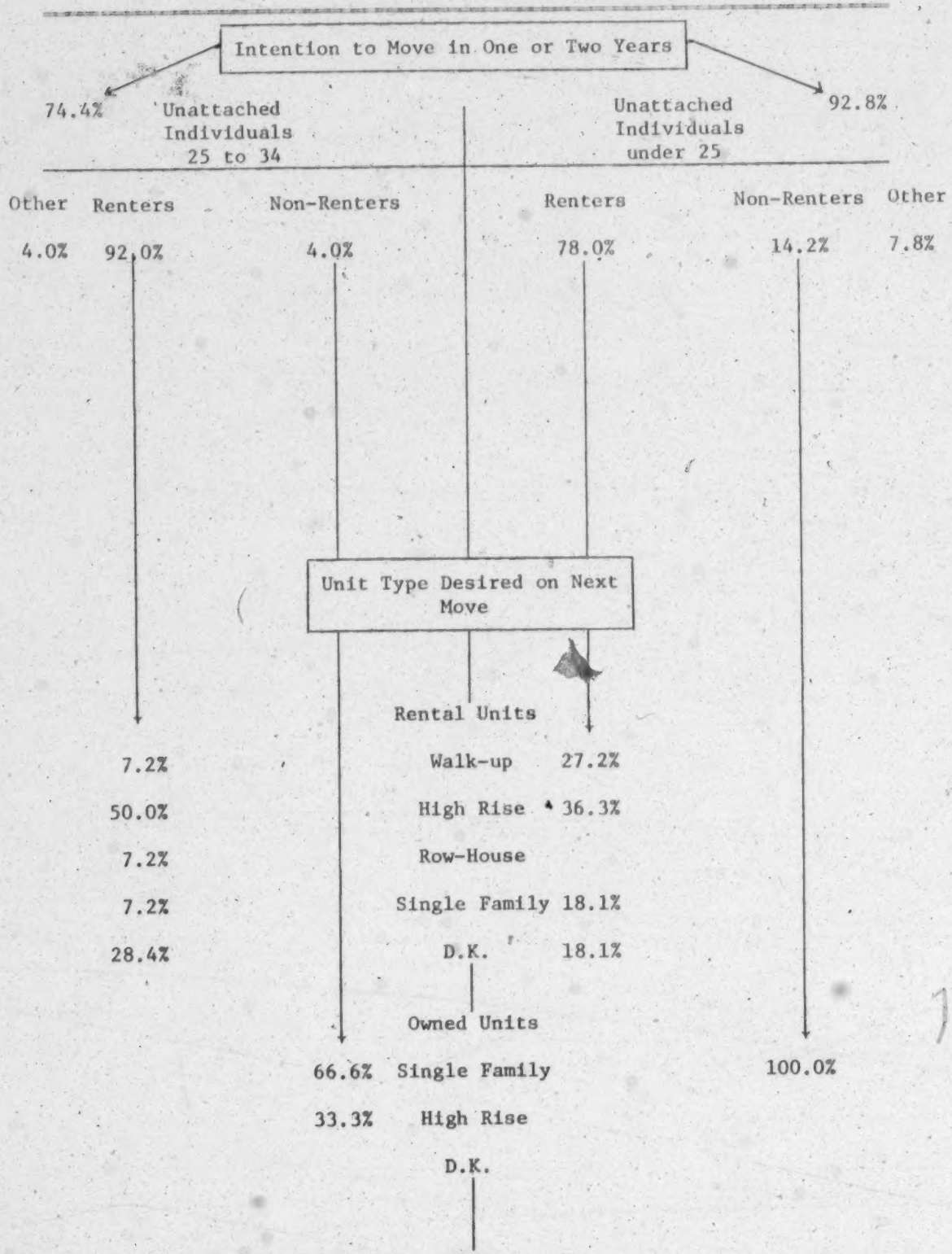


confirms stated intention to own for the questionnaire data as indicated on Table 5.29, p. 171. Parent(s) with children intending to move (58 per cent) were fairly equally represented in the ownership and rental categories. It is assumed that the older parent(s) with children are the ones predominantly desiring future multi-family housing, with a particular inclination towards other high rises (63 per cent). Most wish to continue as renters, but a few did desire high rise condominium living. This pattern is confirmed by the HRCD. Younger parent(s) with children migrated to single family homes and older parent(s) with children moved to other high rise units.

Non-Hard Core Renters

Non-hard core renters are younger. The majority of households under 35 years of age stated their intention of moving within the next two years. For example, 74 per cent of the unattached individuals 25 to 34 years old, intended to move: 92 per cent of them desired future rental status, predominantly in high rises (Table 5.32). When asked "what type of unit would you like to live in, if possible?" 40 per cent stated "single family homes." With a change in marital status, many of these households would probably aspire to homeownership. This was confirmed by the HRCD (Table 5.30, p. 172). At present, however, many of them are confirmed apartment dwellers until their life style changes. Their younger cohorts followed a similar pattern (Table 5.32), although not as strongly committed to high rise living. The HRCD indicates that when households under 35 years old moved, they mainly migrated to multiple units. But, these young unattached individuals are non-hard core renters

Table 5.32--Non-Confirmed Apartment Dwellers

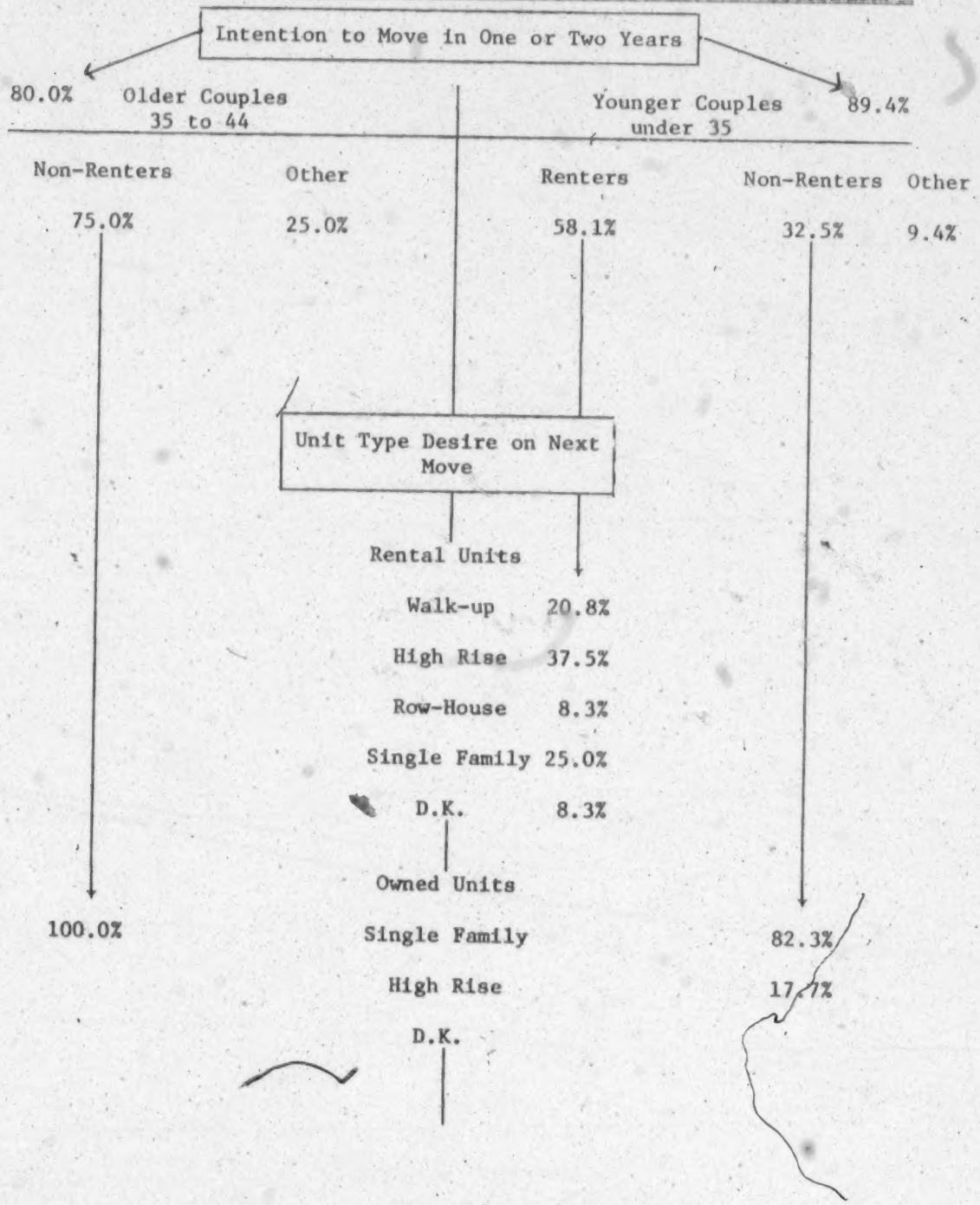


because of their stage in the family life cycle and their future housing aspirations.

In the younger married group, 89 per cent intended to move within two years: 58 per cent intended to rent and 33 per cent wished to own. Of those who preferred ownership, 62 per cent wanted to live in single family homes and 18 per cent in condominiums (Table 5.33). Many of these married couples are still confirmed renters (Table 5.30, p. 172) and most remained in the rental market when they moved from the sampled high rises. In the longer term, however, 75 per cent of the respondents wished to own their own home. At present, of those stating their intention to move and maintaining their rental status, 38 per cent preferred other high rises, 21 per cent preferred walk-ups and 25 per cent preferred rented single family homes. Therefore, these younger households have a definite tendency to desire rental accommodation other than high rises. It is safe to call many of them confirmed renters, in the short run, although it is doubtful if they are confirmed high rise dwellers. This is reflected by the future housing desires of married couples 35 to 44 years old (Table 5.33): 80 per cent of them intended to move within the next two years and all aspired to homeownership. The HRCD generally confirms this, although some migrants remained within the rental housing market.

In summary, non-hard core renters represent mobile households in the earlier stages of the family life cycle. Unattached individuals anticipate short term moves, generally to other rental units, and not always to high rises. Middle-aged couples and young parent(s) with

Table 5.33--Non-Confirmed Apartment Dwellers



children aspire to homeownership, while younger couples have long term aspirations of homeownership very similar to unattached individuals under 35 years old.

SUMMARY

The overall purpose of this chapter was to examine the role of mobility in the residential function of a high rise. The analysis was in four parts.

(i) Length of stay was analysed using variables derived from past mobility characteristics of tenants.

(ii) An attempt was made to evaluate some of these mobility characteristics as part of a 'mobility index' to further distinguish between mobile and stable households.

(iii) Past migratory patterns were analysed.

(iv) A distinction was made between stable and mobile residents, primarily on the basis of future mobility inclinations.

At the aggregate level, this chapter, supported by Chapter IV, established that high rises attract residents with socio-economic characteristics that are associated with relatively high mobility rates. It was initially indicated that over 90 per cent of the sampled high rise residents had migrated within the past five years and that many had moved five times within the past ten years. This high frequency of movement was generally associated with households in the earlier stages of the family life cycle and single adults. Also at the aggregate level, the

high rise dwellers were predominantly past renters.

At the disaggregate level, it was further confirmed that high rises specialize in their residents, and that there are differences among the sampled high rises which are illustrated by variations in mobility patterns. Residents displaying high rates of past frequency of movement were associated with specific high rises. Present length of stay also varied by high rise. This variable, when associated with the other variables of past length of stay, type of past residence, past tenure status and frequency of past moves, confirmed differences among the sample high rises. When the mobility index was incorporated, this observation was further emphasized. Residents in the later stages of the family life cycle were considered as stable households and were frequently residents of the Park, Bristol Towers, and Valleyview Manor. Residents in the earlier stages of the family life cycle, and residents who had not yet entered into the family life cycle scheme, were predominantly mobile households and represented a large proportion of the residents in the Ambassador and the Strathcona. The Crestview and the Panorama did not specialize to the same extent, but were more equally represented by mobile, moderately mobile and, to a lesser extent, stable households.

Taken together, these high rises occupy a definite position in the structure of the housing market, and movement patterns to and from these high rises were strongly related to residential structural type in association with the family life cycle. High rises attract households from both rental and owner-occupied housing. The majority of intra-urban migrants came from multiple family units, mainly other high rises and

walk-ups. When past movement patterns were analysed, households in the later stages of the family life cycle frequently moved from single family to rental units in response to contracting housing needs. Households which remained within the rental market over three successive moves had either already contracted their housing needs or had created an independent household previous to these three moves. Younger households originating in single family homes confirmed this trend.

Future mobility intentions were also strongly related to residential structural type in association with the family life cycle. Hard core renters or households in the latter stages of the family life cycle had little desire to move. Those anticipating a move expressed their preference for future rental units, particularly high rise units. Non-hard core renters or households in the earlier stages of the family life cycle predominantly anticipated a move to other rental housing types, although their long term aspirations were for non-rental housing which was confirmed by the subsequent moves of the HRCD households.

CHAPTER VI

PERSONAL FACTORS IN THE CHOICE OF HIGH RISE APARTMENTS

In the previous chapter it was indicated that the sampled high rises were specialized according to the characteristics of their residents, as summarized by the distribution of hard core and non-hard core renters. Whether or not this resident typology is useful in terms of identifying different patterns in the decision-to-move process is considered in this chapter. The analysis is at both the aggregate and disaggregate level. It focusses upon the factors involved in stimulating a household to move, the search procedure which is involved in looking for a new residence, and the reasons for selecting the present unit from among a set of alternatives. These stages represent the basic dimensions of a recently derived conceptual framework for the household migrant decision-making process (Brown and Moore, 1970). The objective, however, is not primarily to understand the decision-making process itself, but to determine the extent to which the decision-making process helps explain the function of a high rise. In the latter part of the chapter, the initial stage of the decision process is examined with respect to present satisfaction and future intention to move.

THE STIMULUS TO MOVE

Types of move can be classified broadly into two main spatial categories; the long range move or inter-urban move, and the short range

move or intra-urban move. The former movers are primarily motivated by economic reasons while the later are largely housing motivated (Boyce, 1969, p. 23).

Inter-Urban Migrants

For one-quarter of the sampled residents, the previous place of residence was outside the Edmonton metropolitan area. Eighty-six per cent of this group cited better working opportunities as the main factor in initiating a move, with 34 per cent moving due to a company transfer. The remaining 14 per cent cited 'personal' factors as their reasons for migrating. As the sampled high rises are centrally located within Edmonton, these figures give some support to Rossi's (1955) contention that long distance, economically motivated migrants favour central locations as 'ports of entry.' Hard core renters or older married couples and parent(s) with children will continue this pattern of occupying rental housing on their future moves. Younger households or non-hard core renters who desire homeownership, generally considered this initial choice of housing as temporary before a more permanent place could be found in Edmonton or until their situation required a further change.

Intra-Urban Migrants

The generally accepted idea of economic opportunity as the impetus for migration is largely irrelevant for residential moves within the urban area. Intra-urban migration appears to be highly voluntary, with economic factors acting as constraints delineating the potential

areas of in-migration rather than as motives (Simmons, 1968). Involuntary moves are possible and in this study they were restricted to cases where there was a change in the physical structure of the housing, either actual (for example, moves caused by fire damage) or potential (for example, moves caused by possible future demolition of a building). Voluntary moves encompass moves in which a moving choice situation apparently exists (Moore, 1972, p. 2).

Reasons for Move. The major sources of discontent given by residents in initiating intra-urban moves centred around four causes (Table 6.1).

1. Housing dissatisfaction: moves motivated by dissatisfaction with the dwelling were associated with changes in household composition (death, marriage, separation, child launching and child bearing) or other pressures of family requirements (health); with higher than acceptable housing costs; or with the desire for more or less space.
2. Spatial dissatisfaction: moves motivated by dissatisfaction with present location were associated with the expressed desire to live closer to work or with a change in work place.
3. Individual motives: individual causes of dissatisfaction mainly involved the desire for change or for a new experience.
4. Involuntary: the reasons for the move were not related to housing dissatisfaction per se but to external forces.

Dissatisfaction with past housing due to changes in household composition was the most common reason for moving for all migrants (Table 6.1) and for intra-urban migrants (Table 6.2). Thus, in the latter group,

Table 6.1--Reasons for Migrating for All Households
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Reasons	Household Type: Unattached over 44	Unattached 35-44	Unattached 25-34	Unattached under 25	Married Couples over 44	Married Couples 35-44	Married Couples under 35	Parent(s) with children	Related Adults	% Total
1.Work Opportunities: new or improved	5.6	14.3	31.4	21.4	31.6	75.0	29.7	33.3	.....	25.0
2.Housing Dissatisfaction										
household composition	47.2	28.6	14.2	50.0	21.0	25.0	29.8	11.1	.....	27.2
cost	22.2	19.0	20.0	21.4	10.5	.....	19.2	3.7	.....	16.1
space:										
too much	8.3	9.6	.....	.....	10.5	.....	.....	22.2	50.0	7.1
too little	5.6	4.8	11.5	7.1	15.8	.....	8.5	7.4	50.0	9.4
3.Spatial Motivated	.....	4.8	8.6	.....	2.6	.....	8.6	11.1	.....	5.4
4.Individual	5.6	9.5	8.6	.....	5.3	.....	2.1	7.4	.....	5.4
5.Involuntary	5.6	9.5	5.7	.....	2.6	.....	2.1	3.7	.....	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.2--Intra-Urban Migrants and Reasons for Move by Household Type (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Reasons	Household Type: Unattached over 44	Unattached 35-44	Unattached 25-34	Unattached under 25	Married Couples over 44	Married Couples 35-44	Married Couples under 35	Parent(s) with children	Related Adults	% Total
Housing Dissatisfaction										76.7
1. Household Composition	50.0	31.6	20.8	63.6	26.9	100.0	41.9	13.6	.....	34.5
2. Cost	25.0	21.1	29.2	27.3	11.5	.....	29.0	4.5	.....	20.8
3. Space: too much	9.4	10.5	.....	.....	11.5	.....	.....	27.3	50.0	8.9
too little	6.3	5.3	16.7	9.1	23.1	.....	12.9	9.1	50.0	12.5
Spatial Motivated	.....	10.5	12.5	.....	15.3	.....	9.7	31.8	.....	11.4
Individual	3.1	10.5	12.5	.....	7.7	.....	3.2	9.1	.....	6.5
Involuntary	6.3	10.5	8.3	.....	3.8	.....	3.2	4.5	.....	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

35 per cent cited changes in household composition and family requirements, 21 per cent were discontent with the cost of the previous dwelling, 13 per cent moved because they wished to increase space and 9 per cent moved due to excess space. Few of the residents cited factors relating to spatial, involuntary or individual motives.

Residents stressing inadequacy of housing due to change in household composition can be distinguished by their stage in the family life cycle, which is the basis of the typology developed in the previous chapter. Unattached individuals over 45 years old (hard core renters) frequently cited death of a spouse or their health as a cause for migration. Other hard core renters frequently identified the launching of offspring as a factor. Unattached individuals 35 to 45 years old, also hard core renters, moved primarily because of separation or marital problems. On the other hand, non-hard core renters, or individuals under 35 years old, both married and unattached, often indicated that the prime reason for moving was the creation of a new, independent household.

Changing needs for space are also related to life cycle change. Households whose needs had contracted, and who gave excess space as a major factor in initiating their move, were predominantly parent(s) with older children and, to a lesser extent, unattached individuals and married couples over 45 years old. Many of these hard core renters desired to contract their housing space because of a change in household size, such as the launching of offspring into households of their own or the death of a spouse. Households migrating because of lack of space were older couples over 45 years old or younger couples under 35 years old or

unattached individuals 35 to 44 years old. They were motivated by a desire to improve their housing standards, rather than by the needs of life cycle changes.

Cost is another migration factor, usually because rent is considered to be too high for the total value received by living in that particular residence. Cost complaints were cited by most households but more frequently by older unattached individuals, unattached households 25 to 35 years old and younger married couples. They were made in conjunction with other dissatisfactions such as noise, poor landlords and layout, indicating that the cost factor is only part of the total value of a dwelling.

Dissatisfaction with location was primarily related to accessibility to work. Virtually all studies reject job location as an important reason for moving within the urban area (Simmons, 1968; Lapin, 1964, p. 163), but it was identified by 11 per cent of the sampled residents as the primary motivation (Table 6.2, p. 186). Of these respondents, almost half moved due to a new job or a job transfer and the other half moved because of a desire for greater accessibility to work. Hard core renters generally cited the desire for increased accessibility to work while non-hard core renters moved due to a new job or company transfer. It may be tentatively suggested, then, that high rise residents as sampled here, and in comparison with other urban residents analysed in previous literature, might be more influenced by work location, particularly when they are non-hard core renters.

Past Housing Type. Households stressing inadequacy of housing due to changes in composition were commonly residing in single family

homes (38 per cent) or in walk-ups (22 per cent) (Table 6.3). Households with excess space were frequently living in single family homes and, less frequently, in multiple units, particularly high rises. The desire for more space was commonly cited by those households which previously occupied walk-ups or other high rise units. The unsuitability of past residence due to cost was cited frequently by migrants from other high rises and walk-ups. Households moving because they desired a change in environment usually came from other high rises.

Reasons for moving can be further distinguished by past tenure status. Migrants from rental units frequently cited past housing dissatisfaction due to inadequacy of facilities, lack of space and cost. Migrants from owned units were dissatisfied with their previous residence due to changes in household composition and excess space.

SEARCH PROCEDURES IN SELECTION OF A RESIDENTIAL UNIT

The second or search procedure stage in the moving decision process is much more complicated. It is that process by which households seek out, examine and evaluate alternative locations and housing units (Wolpert, 1965, p. 163), and follows on the crucial decision of whether to own or rent, a decision related to both income and life cycle characteristics.

The search procedures followed by the sampled residents are examined only at a relatively simple level since the question was not pursued in detail in the questionnaire. Even so, some interesting patterns are evident, at both the aggregate and disaggregate level.

Table 6.3--Past Housing Type and Reason for Move
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Reason	Past Housing Type: Same High Rise	Other High Rise	Walk-up	Converted House	Basement Suite	Duplex	Single Family	Institutional	Total
Housing Dissatisfaction									
Household composition	6.9	12.1	22.4	3.4	8.6	3.4	37.9	5.2	100.0
Cost	5.7	40.0	34.3	.....	8.6	2.9	5.7	2.9	100.0
Space:									
too much	20.0	13.3	6.7	.....	.....	....	60.0	.....	100.0
too little	9.5	33.3	47.6	.....	9.5	....	.....	.....	100.0
Spatial Motivated	....	30.0	20.0	.....	20.0	10.0	20.0	.....	100.0
Individual	9.1	45.5	9.1	9.1	.....	9.1	18.2	.....	100.0
Involuntary	....	11.1	.....	22.2	.....	....	55.6	11.1	100.0

Duration of Search

The respondents were asked how long they spent searching for a new place to live. The results are probably an understatement as many residents indicated that they had thought of leaving for much longer than the actual time they had spent in the search. In other words, duration of search is defined by the time spent physically visiting alternative locations. At the aggregate level, 65 per cent of the households spent less than one week in looking for a place to live and 27 per cent spent more than one week. Only 7 per cent of the households indicated that they had witnessed the construction of the high rise and had waited until their present accommodation became available. These households were predominantly older, over 35 years, and they were living in the Park and Bristol Towers. Households spending more time in the quest for housing were generally hard core renters, indicating more cautious behaviour in moving. Inter-urban migrants seldom spent over one week before finding their present accommodation. From these results it seems that the majority of the sampled households devoted little time in locating a place to live, a pattern which is probably more characteristic of the inhabitants of rental housing than of people planning to occupy non-rental housing.

Evaluation of Alternatives

Thirty-one per cent of the sample considered no other form of housing and no other high rises in their search. They made their choice by a 'snap decision,' or were attracted to the particular high rise by its architecture or on the basis of recommendations from friends, usually

residents of the building. Households which considered forms of housing other than high rises represented only 25 per cent of the sample: 19 per cent looked at other walk-ups, 5 per cent looked at single family homes and 1 per cent at other structures. The majority of residents (44 per cent) confined their search to other high rises. Households residing in the Park, Bristol Towers, Valleyview and Strathcona less frequently considered alternative residential types (Table 6.4).

Table 6.4--Other Types of Housing Considered by High Rise (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	1961	1964	1961	1966	1967	1967	1968	
	High Rise							
Types of Housing	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total
Single Family	4.7	.....	.....	1.8	3.9	2.3	.9	4.9
Walk-up	4.7	10.7	6.2	3.3	2.9	11.6	5.3	18.8
High rise	21.4	46.9	27.0	31.6	31.3	44.2	38.2	44.6
Other	.....	.....	2.3	.....	2.3	.9	1.4	.9
None	69.2	42.4	64.5	63.3	59.8	41.0	54.2	30.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The alternatives considered in selecting a residence seemed to be little affected by past type of residence. Those who did consider walk-ups were more frequently from other high rises or single family homes. Single family residences were mainly considered by both young and older married couples, especially those with children.

Characteristically, even when alternative residential structures were considered, most respondents appear to have made up their minds well in advance about the type of housing and the location they desired. They were asked to indicate three locations in which they searched for housing, and the type of housing considered in conjunction with these locations, not including their final (present) choice. Only 2 per cent of the responses involved any consideration of single family units and only 7 per cent looked at walk-up units, whereas other high rise units were examined by 37 per cent of the sample. Suburban locations were seldom considered: only 4 per cent of the total responses cited locations outside the central area or in the peripheral areas of the city (Fig. 6.1 and Table 6.5).

At the aggregate level, the sampled residents definitely preferred a central location for their future housing. At the disaggregate level, the failure to evaluate alternatives is further emphasized. For example, residents of the north side high rises rarely identified south side locations in their search. Of the 318 responses from north side residents, only 6 per cent looked at housing on the south side, and this was confined to the high rise area around the University of Alberta. When type of housing is considered in conjunction with given locations, further differences are established. North side residents who considered single family units basically confined their search to the west area of Edmonton. Of the residents who actually evaluated walk-up locations, 65 per cent were in the central area on the north side (as outlined in Fig. 6.1), 24 per cent were in two areas on the south side, and 12 per cent were in areas north of the central area. Very few residents evaluated

FIGURE 6.1 AREAS RESIDENTS SEARCHED FOR HOUSING IN EDMONTON

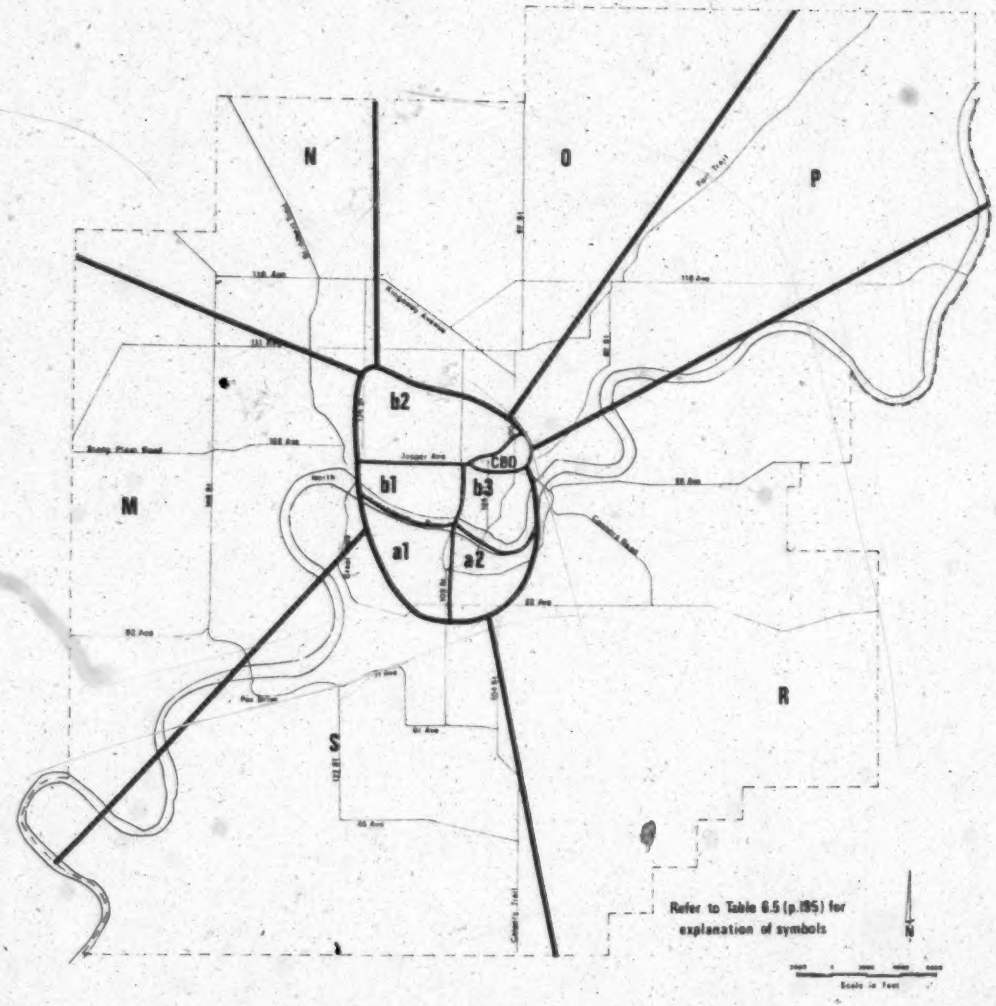


Table 6.5--Alternative Location Considered by All High Rise Residents

North Side High Rises

Alternative Locations Considered on:

	North Side						South Side		
	Central			Suburban			Central		
	b_1	b_2	b_3	M	P	O	a_1	a_2	Total
None									186
Single Family	..	..	..	6	..	..	1	..	7
Walk-ups	5	6	..	..	1	1	2	2	17
High rises	69	16	4	..	..	..	5	10	104
Other	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
									318

South Side High Rises

Alternative Locations Considered on:

	South Side				North Side							
	Central		Suburban		Central			Suburban				
	a_1	a_2	R	S	b_1	b_2	b_3	M	N	O	P	Total
None												175
Single Family	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Walk-ups	..	19	..	3	..	..	..	2	1	2	..	27
High rise	43	55	..	4	25	11	3	..	..	1	1	143
Other	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
												354

any housing types, including other high rises, to the south of the downtown area. This indicates the extreme dominance or attraction of the area just west of the downtown and the almost total neglect of other high rise areas.

High rise residents on the south side were not as restricted in their locational preferences, which probably reflects the higher percentage of inter-urban migrants. Of the 354 responses, 13 per cent involved some consideration of north side locations. South side residents who looked at single family homes confined their search mainly to the university area. Of the residents who evaluated walk-ups, 70 per cent looked at walk-ups in the area where they finally chose to live, 26 per cent cited locations on the north side outside of the central area and 3 per cent in the south area of the city. A small number of these residents considered high rises in the suburban areas of the city, a process which did not occur with the residents on the north side. The majority of residents considering only high rise locations, confined their search to the south side central area, or the area of their final choice. The remainder (27 per cent) looked at north side high rises. Again, very few residents considered locations just south of the downtown.

Clearly, in the majority of the cases sampled, the search process as defined here was associated with only limited evaluation of housing types and location, a phenomenon suggested by Adams (1969, pp. 302-323).

SELECTION CRITERIA FOR RESIDENTIAL UNITS

The factors considered in the final selection of a specific high rise unit are analysed according to the residential units, the high rise

and the area. As indicated previously, 31 per cent of the households did not consider alternative high rise structures or other residential types in their search. However, 66 per cent did consider other high rise structures and of these 11 per cent looked at one other high rise, 19 per cent looked at two to four high rises, 28 per cent looked at five to ten high rises and 8 per cent considered over ten other high rises. Although in a broad sense this seems to be only a limited evaluation of spatial and housing type alternatives, the decision to select an area and high rise accommodation still involves numerous selection criteria. For example, which high rise will be selected, and which unit within that high rise?

The Area, Personal Likes and Dislikes

Of interest in this context is the selection of a high rise in a particular area of the city when similar accommodation was available in other parts of the city. Factors that influenced the sampled high rise residents to locate in the two study areas (Table 6.6) were dominated by the desire to be physically close to the central (downtown) area, and to a lesser extent by accessibility to a number of more widely dispersed facilities and functions. There are overlaps between the categories of proximity to the central area and accessibility, although definite patterns of response were distinguished between these residents living on the north side and those on the south side. North side residents had a strong desire to be close to the downtown, whereas south side residents stressed accessibility to a more varied number of locations within the city. One favourable feature of some significance in both study areas was the

Table 6.6--Reasons for Choosing the Area by High Rise
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	1961	1964	1961	1966	1967	1967	1968	
	High Rise							
Reasons	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	% Total
Central	78.6	81.3	77.3	55.0	64.7	39.5	48.0	56.7
Access	7.1	6.3	9.1	.....	8.8	27.9	22.7	16.1
View	14.3	6.3	9.1	35.0	20.6	25.6	18.7	19.6
Friends	.....	6.3	.....	.....	2.9	4.7	6.7	4.0
Lived in area before	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.3	.4
Other:								
-just like apartment	.....	.....	.....	10.0	.....	.....	.....	.9
-do not like area	.....	.....	4.5	.....	.....	2.3	2.7	1.8
-to get away	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.9	.....	.....	.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

availability of a view, particularly over the North Saskatchewan River. This factor is also important in the selection of individual high rises and of a unit within a high rise. Hard core renters more frequently stated that the close proximity of friends influenced their choice. The convenience of such amenities as shops, recreation and employment was also important to the majority of residents (Tables 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9).

Selection of High Rise

The selection of one of the sample high rises was dictated mainly by convenience, housing quality, cost, familiarity and personal factors. Convenience was defined as a relative locational advantage in terms of accessibility to work, transportation and shopping, thus indicating the importance of accessibility as a locational criterion with respect to both the area and the individual high rise within an area. Housing quality involved various aspects of amenities, management, design and space. In a number of cases, preference for a high rise arose from the fact that the individual had lived there long enough to develop a strong personal attachment to the area. Personal reasons related to household needs and financial capabilities, and reflected a concern to obtain value for money. Finally, it should be noted that in some cases, a high rise was chosen because it was the only one that could be found at the time of search--although this again probably indicates the favourable location of these high rises as it is likely that there were vacancies in other high rises in other parts of the city.

In the total sample, the majority of respondents cited housing factors as influencing their final choice, although convenience was critical

Table 6.7--Convenience of Location of Residence to Stores (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	High Rise							
Convenience	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	% Total
Very conv.	85.7	63.6	93.8	75.0	82.4	51.1	56.0	66.1
Moderately conv.	14.3	31.8	6.2	25.0	17.6	41.9	36.0	29.5
Not conv.	.....	4.6	.....	.....	.....	7.0	6.7	4.0
Other	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.3	.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.8--Convenience of Location of Residence to Recreational Areas (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	High Rise							
Convenience	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	% Total
Very conv.	85.7	59.1	43.8	70.0	82.4	58.1	56.0	62.9
Mod. conv.	14.3	13.6	18.8	20.0	17.6	37.2	34.7	26.8
Not conv.	.....	9.1	.....	5.0	.....	2.3	2.7	2.7
Other	.....	18.2	37.4	5.0	.....	2.3	6.6	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6.9--Convenience of Location of Residence to Work by High Rise (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Convenience	High Rise							
	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	% Total
Very conv.	42.9	59.1	43.8	70.0	70.6	72.1	57.3	61.6
Mod. conv.	28.6	22.7	.....	15.0	17.6	20.9	26.7	21.0
Not conv.	.....	4.5	.....	.....	5.9	2.3	6.7	4.0
Do not work	28.5	13.6	56.2	15.0	5.9	4.7	9.3	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

for 35 per cent (Table 6.10). At the disaggregate level, further differences in the importance attached to the various locational criteria can be identified in association with the hard core, non-hard core resident typology. Less importance was attached to convenience by hard core residents, especially in the high rises they dominate as a residential group. These residents attach more importance to housing factors which is, perhaps, why these particular high rises are relatively stable in terms of resident turnover. Hard core renters are more conscious of their permanent housing needs and wants. On the other hand, convenience was much more significant for residents occupying the Ambassador and the Strathcona, which are characterised by non-hard core renters. In fact non-hard core renters are less demanding of housing quality, but place greater stress on the location and convenience of the high rise. Respondents occupying units in the Crestview and the Panorama, which were characterised by both hard core and non-hard core residents, varied in their reasons for choice of high rise. The Crestview residents, who were predominantly older, less affluent, unattached households, were primarily concerned with cost and familiarity with the area, while the Panorama residents were concerned with convenience and housing quality.

Bonuses were another factor of some influence. They included the provision of underground parking, swimming pools, and recreation rooms (Table 3.2, p. 70). Some high rises offered very few bonuses while others, especially the more recent ones, offered a wider variety. Table 6.11 illustrates the importance of bonuses; naturally, for those high rises offering few bonuses respondents indicated 'not important' more

Table 6.10--Reasons for Choosing Present High Rise (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Reasons	High Rise							% Total
	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	
Convenience	14.3	9.1	18.8	15.0	32.4	44.2	50.0	34.8
Familiarity	14.3	13.6	.....	10.0	5.9	9.3	6.7	8.0
Housing quality:								
View	21.4	18.2	37.5	30.0	17.6	9.3	16.0	18.3
Architecture	21.4	13.6	12.5	24.0	20.6	4.7	10.7	13.4
Management	7.1	.....	6.3	.....	8.8	4.7	2.0	4.0
Personal Household Needs	14.3	4.5	12.5	10.0	2.9	2.3	6.7	6.3
Reasonable Rent	.....	31.3	6.3	.....	2.9	14.0	5.3	8.5
Only one Available	7.1	4.5	.....	5.0	.....	9.3	1.3	4.5
Other	.....	4.5	6.3	5.0	2.9	2.3	.....	2.2

frequently. Bonuses did not influence the residential turnover of the well established high rises, such as Valleyview and Bristol Towers. Residents of newer high rises seemed to consider bonuses more important. With respect to the population sampled, however, bonuses cannot be considered a prime factor in choice of high rise.

Table 6.11--The Importance of Bonuses (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	High Rise							
Bonus	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total
Important	.....	9.1	.....	40.0	29.4	7.0	28.0	19.6
Moderately	7.1	9.1	6.3	20.0	38.2	39.5	52.0	34.4
Not important	92.9	77.3	93.8	40.0	32.4	53.5	20.0	45.5
No response	.....	4.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Dwelling Unit

Respondents were asked what apartment features were attractive to them in deciding upon the particular unit they were presently occupying. Apartment features were categorized into amenities the unit offered, such as view, balcony, space and layout of the unit; décor; atmosphere of the unit and of the high rise; and rental costs (Table 6.12). By far the majority of residents stressed the importance of balcony and view. Even for those high rises which less frequently offered balconies and view, particularly the Crestview and Bristol Towers, this factor still

influenced the choice of unit. Of the remaining factors, size of unit and layout were the most influential, while décor and atmosphere were of minimum significance. 'Other' considerations mainly involved a preference for the cheapest unit, commonly cited by younger households, non-hard core renters, particularly those occupying the Ambassador and the Strathcona.

Table 6.12--Apartment Features Found Attractive by High Rise (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	High Rise							
Apartment Features	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	Total
1. Amenities of Apt.								
balcony	50.0	13.6	31.3	55.0	55.9	27.9	29.3	35.3
view	21.4	22.7	43.8	35.0	23.5	39.5	30.7	31.3
size of rooms	14.3	45.5	6.3	10.0	14.7	16.3	18.7	18.3
storage space	....	4.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.4
floor plan	....	.....	12.5	.....	.....	2.3	5.3	3.1
2. Décor	....	.....	6.3	.....	.....	.....	2.7	1.3
3. Atmosphere	14.3	9.1	.....	.....	.....	2.3	1.3	2.7
4. Rental cost	....	4.5	.....	.....	5.9	11.6	12.0	7.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

PRESENT SATISFACTION AND INTENTION TO MOVE

The final section of this chapter examines present satisfaction, reasons for dissatisfaction and future aspirations with respect to residential choice. Present satisfaction with units for all high rises is high (Table 6.13) with many of the respondents being satisfied with both the unit and the high rise. Dissatisfaction with choice of

Table 6.13--Complaints of High Rise Residents (Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

	High Rise							
Complaints	Valley-view Manor	Crest-view	Bristol Towers	Park	Pano-rama	Ambas-sador	Strath-cona House	% Total
None	78.6	40.9	50.0	65.0	44.1	32.6	33.3	42.4
Too small	.....	9.1	18.8	.....	17.6	11.6	13.3	11.6
Too large	.....	.....	.....	5.0	.....	.....	.....	.4
Do not like floor plan	7.1	9.1	.....	5.0	8.8	18.6	17.3	12.5
Other: appliances and facilities	.....	13.6	6.3	5.0	14.7	.....	16.0	10.8
Noise	14.3	9.1	6.3	5.0	2.9	7.0	6.7	6.7
Costs	.....	18.2	18.8	15.0	5.9	30.2	13.3	15.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

dwelling emphasized size of unit and cost or fear of increase in rent. There were substantial differences among the high rises with residents of the Valleyview, Park and Bristol Towers being more frequently satisfied with their choice than were the residents of the Strathcona and the

Ambassador. Households occupying the Crestview and the Panorama fell between the two extremes. Within these two high rises, hard core renters, or older unattached individuals and married older couples were mostly satisfied with their choice; the main concern was over the possibility of rental increases. A few complaints by hard core renters centered around size and layout, noise and facilities. Non-hard core renters were less satisfied with their choice and their complaints focussed on size and layout, and on rental cost (Table 6.13, p. 206). Perhaps this indicates that the non-hard core renters chose their dwellings on the basis of less restricted need and in anticipation of moves in the near future.

The reasons given for moving by those households dissatisfied with their residential choice and intending to move within the next year, were also analysed. Households planning a future move were predominantly non-hard core renters in the earlier stages of the family life cycle. Younger unattached households intending to move were mainly concerned with present housing cost while young married couples and parent(s) with children aspired to homeownership and increasing housing space. Approximately one-quarter of the anticipated moves related to employment: unattached individuals under 45 years old, and parent(s) and married couples under 45 years old (Table 6.14).

SUMMARY

The results of this chapter indicate that the reasons for moving vary according to stage in the family life cycle, past migratory

Table 6.14--Reason for Migrating from the High Rise
by Household Type
(Percentage) (Questionnaire Data)

Reasons	Household Type: Unattached over 44	Unattached 35-44	Unattached 25-34	Unattached under 25	Married Couples over 44	Married Couples 35-44	Married Couples under 35	Parent(s) with children	Related Adults	% Total
Employment	.....	19.0	22.8	21.4	2.6	25.0	17.0	7.4	.....	11.9
Housing Dissatisfaction										
Household composition	8.3	.....	5.7	7.1	2.6	.....	2.1	7.4	.....	4.5
Cost:										
Increase	5.6	9.5	25.7	35.7	2.6	.....	8.5	3.7	.....	10.7
Invest.	.....	.....	.....	.....	7.9	25.0	12.8	7.4	.....	5.5
Space:										
More	.....	.....	5.7	7.1	5.3	.....	21.3	11.1	.....	8.0
Desire View	2.8	.....	.....	.....	2.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.9
Individual	.....	14.3	2.9	.....	.....	.....	4.3	7.4	.....	3.6
Not Moving	83.3	57.1	37.1	28.6	76.3	50.0	34.0	55.6	100.0	54.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

behaviour, and the distance moved, especially whether this is inter- or intra-urban migration. Furthermore, when stable households or hard core renters moved, they were primarily influenced by change in household composition and the desire to contract housing space. On the other hand, moves by households in the earlier stages of the family life cycle, or non-hard core renters, centred around the desire to create an independent household. Many moves also reflected the desire to improve housing standards, to change location or to adjust housing costs, and were not directly related to change in household composition.

Hard core renters consider the high rises as a more permanent place of residence than do non-hard core renters, who perceive the high rise as a transient place in their residential requirements. This typology into non-hard core and hard core is also associated with different patterns in the search and evaluation procedures involved in the decision-to-move process. Hard core renters tended to have more definite criteria in mind when choosing both the high rise and the unit. This ultimately results in a higher degree of satisfaction with present housing, and a lower degree of anticipated moves among hard core renters than among non-hard core renters.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This thesis represents an attempt to identify and describe the functional characteristics of seven selected high rise apartments by focussing principally upon the residential mobility patterns of their inhabitants. The analysis of the data was directed, therefore, to testing relationships between characteristics of residents, classified according to the various stages of the family life cycle, and their mobility.

The socio-economic characteristics of these high rise residents differed from other urban residents. The high rises were occupied predominantly by residents in the late or early stages of the family life cycle, the former being childless married couples or unattached individuals over 44 years old and the latter being childless married couples and unattached individuals under 35 years old. Parents with children, representing the middle stages of the family life cycle and characteristic of suburban detached housing, were poorly represented. Other characteristics of the high rise households were that they were small in size, that employed household heads were in higher occupational positions, and that household income was above average and often supplemented by a second employed member.

The sampled high rises attracted residents with socio-economic characteristics associated with relatively high mobility rates; these residents averaged 3.6 moves within the past ten years. Furthermore,

over 90 per cent of the sampled residents had migrated once within the past five years. However, there were substantial variations in mobility rates. The most frequent migrants were generally households in the early stages of the family life cycle and, unlike the older households, the majority of these younger residents had occupied their present and past residential units for less than two years. The high migration rates of high rise residents is essentially correct as an aggregate characteristic, but it should be modified according to age and stage in the family life cycle.

Individually, high rises specialize in their resident characteristics and function by attracting residents of similar age, household type and occupation. Because of this selctivity there are significant functional differences among high rises and this is illustrated by variations in the mobility patterns of their residents. Households in the later stages of the family life cycle were stable, had occupied their present and past units for relatively long periods, did not have any intention of moving, and were frequently residents of the Park, Valleyview and Bristol Towers. Households in the earlier stages of the family life cycle were much more mobile, had occupied previous rental units for only short periods, expressed intentions for future moves and formed the larger proportion of the residents of the Ambassador and the Strathcona. The Crestview and the Panorama did not specialize to the same extent and were represented by both mobile and stable households. High rises dominated by stable households experienced lower turnover rates, a factor of some importance to high rise management. However, notwithstanding the

high aggregate level of mobility, the characteristics of individual high rises "are remarkably stable; the in-migrants to [a particular high rise] generally resemble the out-migrants" (Simmons, 1968, p. 622).

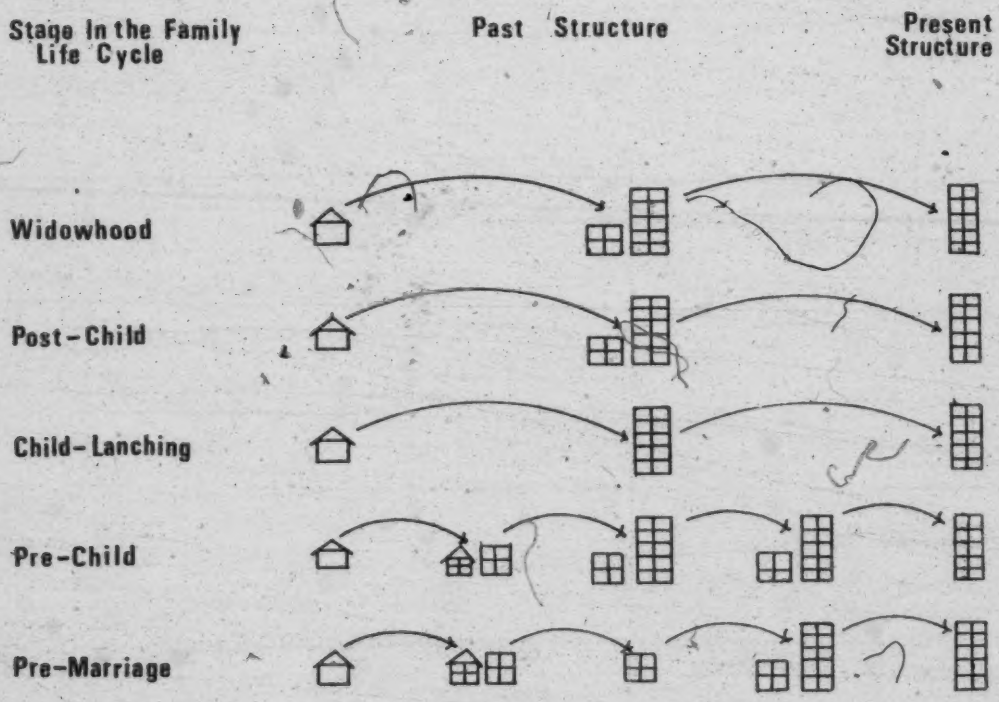
Variations in mobility patterns also indicate that high rises occupy a definite position in the structure of the housing market and that patterns of movement prior to residing in a high rise are related to residential structural type as well as to stage in the family life cycle. This has been illustrated in a generalized pattern of residential migration to high rises (Figure 7.1). Thus the idealized schema suggests households originally resided in a single family home, either as spouses or as children. The stimulus to move to a rental unit is mainly regarded as a response to contracting housing needs associated with the death of a spouse, the launching of offspring or the desire to create a new independent household. Subsequent movement for younger mobile households reflects further creation of new households, through marriage or taking a new roommate, and the desire to improve housing. These younger households move frequently within the rental housing market, choice of housing being largely governed by rental costs. Movement of stable households is restricted in terms of type and number of moves, and is motivated generally by the desire to improve housing quality.

The family life cycle concept is therefore useful in explaining residential migration, particularly from the single family home. For example, it indicates the propensity to move and brings out the fact that younger households are the most frequent movers.

Patterns of movement from a high rise are also related to

FIGURE 7.1

MOVEMENT PATTERNS



residential structural type in association with the family life cycle (Figure 7.2). Households in the latter stages of the family life cycle had little desire to move, and even those which did anticipate a move expressed a preference for maintaining their present high rise rental status. Both groups can therefore be categorized as hard core renters. Households in the early stages of the family life cycle, or non-hard core renters, had little desire to remain in their present units for more than two years. Indeed, the majority anticipated a move within the next year. Their short-term preferences were for other rental units (not necessarily high rises), but their long term aspirations were for non-rental housing. Therefore, high rises represent a transitional form of housing for households in the earlier stages of the family life cycle, and a terminal form for households in the later stages.

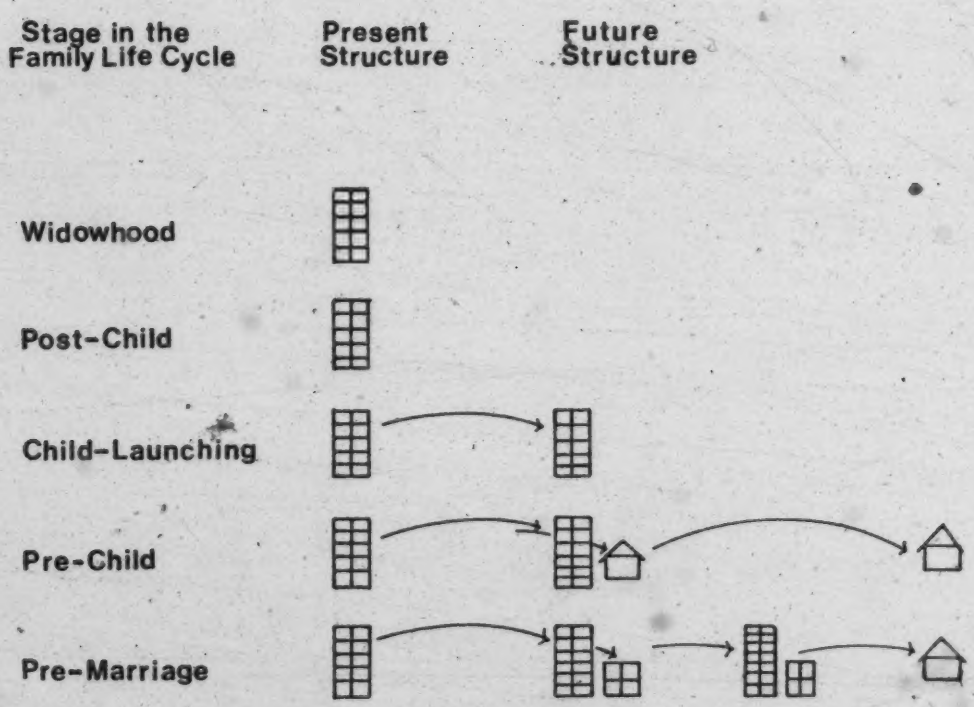
Reasons for moving varied according to stage in the family life cycle, past migratory behaviour and the distance moved. Inter-urban migrants were stimulated to move by employment factors and intra-urban moves were stimulated by housing dissatisfaction. Because of the more cautious search and evaluation procedures of hard core renters, satisfaction with present choice was high, while non-hard core renters expressed less appreciation with present housing choice and anticipated a future move.

IN RETROSPECT

One of the principal factors in the selection of the study sample was that the high rises should share broadly common locational

Figure 7.2

MOVEMENT PATTERNS



characteristics to reduce the influence of relative location variables in the definition of a function of a high rise. Given this constraint, several high rises which appeared to share common locational characteristics were those situated on the north and south banks of the North Saskatchewan River. All were in close proximity to the CBD and all occupied 'high amenity' sites, especially in terms of view.

Common locational characteristics as viewed in this study failed to anticipate the influence of activities located on the north and/or south side of the North Saskatchewan River. In particular, the University of Alberta, situated on the south side, in close proximity to the south side high rises, contributed to differentiation in function between north and south side high rises.

Results of the data showed that north side residents differed from south side residents. Younger households more frequently occupied units on the south side. Older couples and families residing in south side high rises were mainly employed at the University. With respect to the younger households generally, at least one member used university facilities, either for educational purposes or for employment. It has not been within the scope of this thesis to determine if other high rises adjacent to the university also attract students and university employees. However, in the case of the Ambassador, although the management preferred not to rent to students due to their high mobility, it was considered necessary to keep vacancy rates down. Many of the south side residents also worked on the north side, usually in the CBD, and shopped at places on the north side. However, few north side high rise residents worked

or shopped on the south side and were more locationally oriented to the activities of the north side in contrast to the somewhat more diffuse locational patterns (as expressed by journey to work and shopping habits) of south side residents. However, the characteristics of the sampled residents clearly indicate that relative location is an important influence upon the residential function of a high rise. Residents on the north side were generally unattached individuals or married couples over 44 years of age, that is hard core renters, or younger childless married couples. They were predominantly previous Edmontonians, were more stable and had occupied their past and present units for longer periods of time than the south side residents who were non-hard core renters, had occupied their past and present units for short periods, and were frequently inter-urban migrants. The distinction between the characteristics of residents on the south side and those on the north side indicates that relative location does play a role in the type of residents attracted to individual high rises. It is therefore suggested that future studies of the residential function of a high rise can benefit by inclusion of variables and indices which would more fully test the role of relative location in the residential function than was attempted in this thesis.

It is also apparent that many other variables operate in conjunction with residential mobility and location to influence the function of a high rise. Rent structures definitely prevent certain households from residing in high rises and in this respect an analysis of the housing expenditures of households within specific income groups would be useful. Management policy, although not incorporated into the analysis, is an

important factor in the resident profile of a high rise and, therefore, its function. Form of the high rise itself also influences function. Form is restrictive to some households, because of deficiencies in lay-out, décor and amenities; form also dictates the size and number of households that make up the population of the high rise.

The increasing importance of the high rise suggests that residential differentiation in vertical space requires further analysis, including the further specification of function of a high rise as part of a spatially dynamic urban residential market. To the urban planner, the high rise plays a key role in the dynamics of the urban housing market. A full understanding of a high rise therefore is required not only with respect to its place within static concepts of urban spatial structure but more importantly for its contribution to the processes of residential change.

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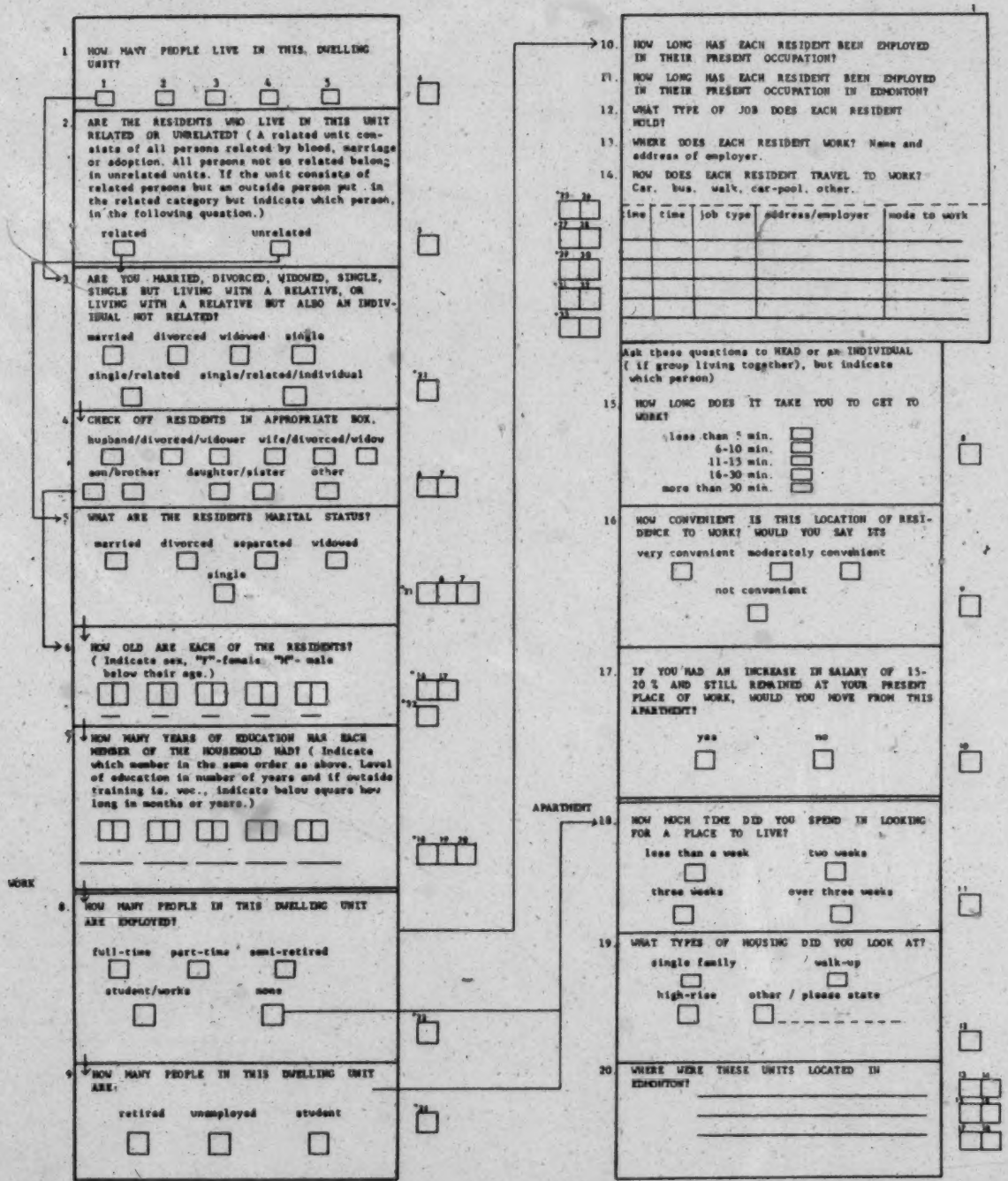
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE


1 HOW MANY PEOPLE LIVE IN THIS DWELLING UNIT?
1 2 3 4 5
2. ARE THE RESIDENTS WHO LIVE IN THIS UNIT RELATED OR UNRELATED? (A related unit consists of all persons related by blood, marriage or adoption. All persons not so related belong in unrelated units. If the unit consists of related persons but an outside person put in the related category but indicate which person, in the following question.)
related
unrelated
3. ARE YOU MARRIED, DIVORCED, WIDOWED, SINGLE, SINGLE BUT LIVING WITH A RELATIVE, OR LIVING WITH A RELATIVE BUT ALSO AN INDIVIDUAL NOT RELATED?
married
divorced
widowed
single
single/related
single/related/individual
4 CHECK OFF RESIDENTS IN APPROPRIATE BOX.
husband/divorced/widower
wife/divorced/widow
son/brother
daughter/sister
other
5 WHAT ARE THE RESIDENTS MARITAL STATUS?
married
divorced
separated
widowed
single
6 HOW OLD ARE EACH OF THE RESIDENTS? (Indicate sex, "F"-female "M"- male below their age.)
7 HOW MANY YEARS OF EDUCATION HAS EACH MEMBER OF THE HOUSEHOLD HAD? (Indicate which member in the same order as above. Level of education in number of years and if outside training ie. voc., indicate below square how long in months or years.)
WORK
8. HOW MANY PEOPLE IN THIS DWELLING UNIT ARE EMPLOYED?
full-time
part-time
semi-retired
student/works
none
9 HOW MANY PEOPLE IN THIS DWELLING UNIT ARE:
retired
unemployed
student
10. HOW LONG HAS EACH RESIDENT BEEN EMPLOYED IN THEIR PRESENT OCCUPATION?
11. HOW LONG HAS EACH RESIDENT BEEN EMPLOYED IN THEIR PRESENT OCCUPATION IN EDMONTON?
12. WHAT TYPE OF JOB DOES EACH RESIDENT HOLD?
13. WHERE DOES EACH RESIDENT WORK? Name and address of employer.
14. HOW DOES EACH RESIDENT TRAVEL TO WORK? Car, bus, walk, car-pool, other.
time
time
job type
address/employer
mode to work
Ask these questions to HEAD or an INDIVIDUAL (if group living together), but indicate which person)
15. HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE YOU TO GET TO WORK?
less than 5 min.
6-10 min.
11-15 min.
16-30 min.
more than 30 min.
16 HOW CONVENIENT IS THIS LOCATION OF RESIDENCE TO WORK? WOULD YOU SAY ITS
very convenient
moderately convenient
not convenient
17. IF YOU HAD AN INCREASE IN SALARY OF 15-20 % AND STILL REMAINED AT YOUR PRESENT PLACE OF WORK, WOULD YOU MOVE FROM THIS APARTMENT?
yes
no
APARTMENT
18. HOW MUCH TIME DID YOU SPEND IN LOOKING FOR A PLACE TO LIVE?
less than a week
two weeks
three weeks
over three weeks
19. WHAT TYPES OF HOUSING DID YOU LOOK AT?
single family
walk-up
high-rise
other / please state
20. WHERE WERE THESE UNITS LOCATED IN EDMONTON?

21. HOW MANY OTHER HIGH RISES DID YOU LOOK AT BEFORE YOU CHOSE THIS ONE?

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ none ☐

22. WHAT WERE REASONS FOR CHOSING YOUR PRESENT LOCATION?

23. HOW DID YOU DISCOVER THIS APARTMENT BUILDING?

newspaper ☐ T.V./radio ☐ friends ☐

personal observation ☐ personal visiting ☐ other ☐

24. WERE SPECIAL BONUSES OFFERED SUCH AS SWIMMING POOL, CAR PARK, SAUNA BATH, OR RECREATION ROOM, AN IMPORTANT FACTOR, MODERATELY IMPORTANT FACTOR, OR NOT AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN INFLUENCING YOUR DECISION TO LIVE IN THIS APARTMENT BUILDING?

important ☐ mod. important ☐ not important ☐

25. WHAT WAS THERE ABOUT THIS PARTICULAR APARTMENT UNIT THAT YOU LIKED BEST?

balcony ☐ view ☐ size of rooms ☐

storage space ☐ other/please state _____

26. DO YOU HAVE ANY SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS ABOUT THIS APARTMENT UNIT?

too small ☐ too large ☐ do not like the floor plan ☐

economic ☐ other/please state _____

27. CONSIDERING YOUR OWN PERSONAL SITUATION WOULD YOU PREFER TO OWN YOUR OWN APARTMENT UNIT PRESENTLY OCCUPYING OR RENT IT?

own ☐ rent ☐

28. WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT THE AREA THAT YOU ARE LIVING IN?

central ☐ view ☐ friends ☐ good access to other areas ☐

other _____

29. WOULD YOU SAY YOU FIND THIS AREA PLEASANT, MODERATELY PLEASANT, OR UNPLEASANT TO LIVE IN?

pleasant ☐ mod. pleasant ☐ unpleasant ☐

30. HOW CONVENIENT IS THIS APARTMENT TO OTHER PLACES YOU HAVE TO GO, LIKE STORES, RECREATION AREAS AND SO FORTH? WOULD YOU SAY ITS VERY CONVENIENT, NOT CONVENIENT, OR MODERATELY CONVENIENT?

Stores:
very con ☐ mod. con ☐ not con. ☐

Recreation areas:
very con. ☐ mod. con. ☐ not con. ☐

31. WHERE HAVE YOU DONE YOUR GROCERY SHOPPING
WITHIN THE PAST WEEK _____
WITHIN THE PAST TWO WEEKS _____
WITHIN THE PAST THREE WEEKS _____

32. WHERE DO YOU BUY SUCH THINGS AS CLOTHES, APPLIANCES OR FURNITURE?

_____

33. DO THE CHILDREN ATTEND SCHOOL?

no ☐ yes ☐

WHERE? _____

MOVING

34. HOW MANY DWELLING UNITS HAVE YOU LIVED IN DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS? BEGIN WITH THE MOST RECENT PLACE.

If Edmonton list the address, otherwise list the city.
Length of time spent in each dwelling unit give in years/months.

Type of dwelling: single-family, walk-up apartment, high-rise, row-house, etc.
List number of rooms in each excluding the bathrooms.
List whether each unit was rented or owned.
How much the unit cost per month or per year

city	time	type of dwelling	# of rooms	own rent	price of unit

35. WHY DID YOU MOVE FROM YOUR LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE?

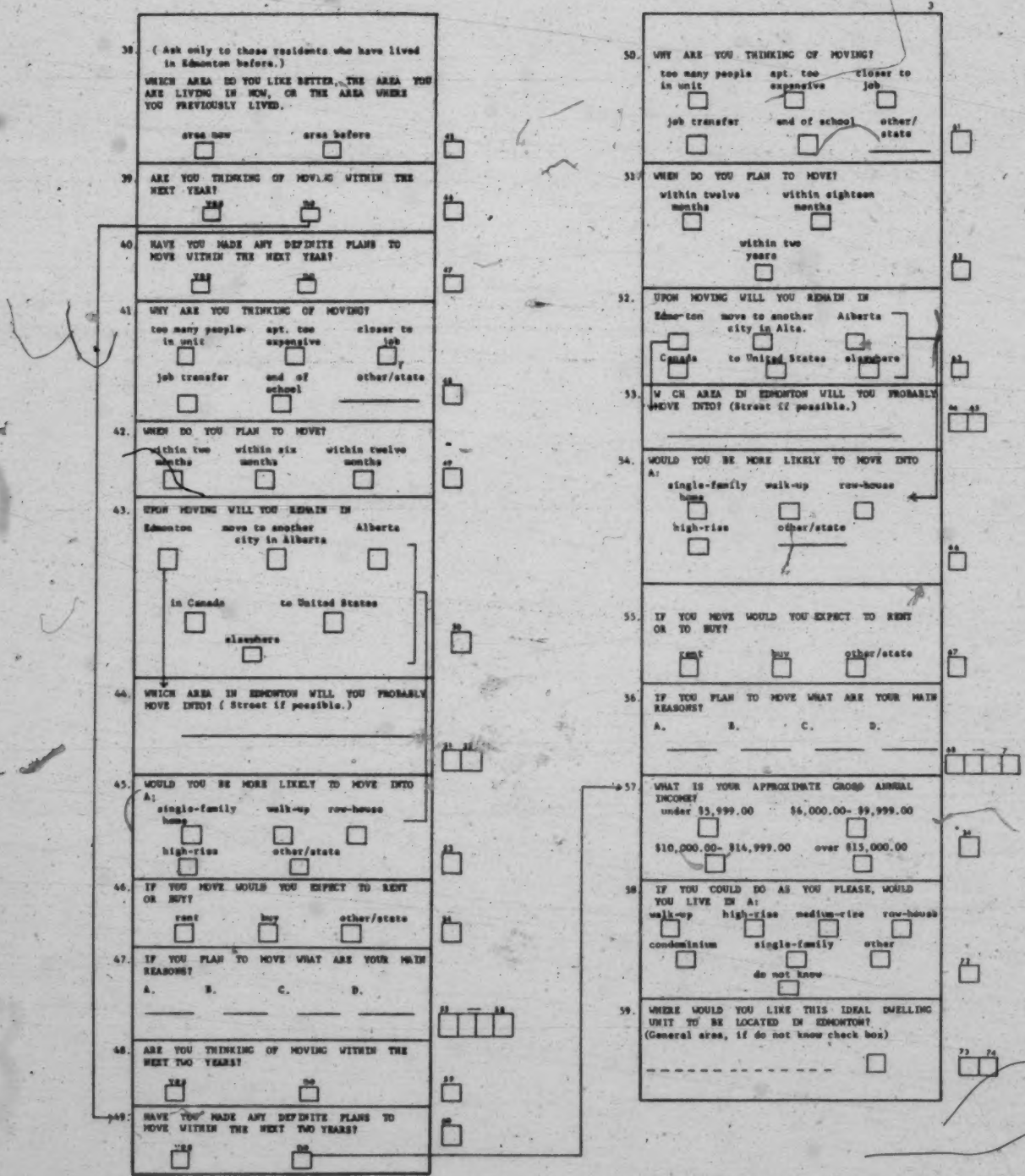
_____

36. WHEN DID YOU MOVE INTO THIS APARTMENT UNIT? (Give month, year.)

month_ _ _ year_ _ _ _ _

37. HOW MUCH RENT DO YOU PAY PER MONTH ?
(Include rent paid for car-park, or utilities, but indicate how much extra this is over the rent paid.)

rent_ _ _ _ _ extra_ _ _ _


38. (Ask only to those residents who have lived in Edmonton before.)
WHICH AREA DO YOU LIKE BETTER, THE AREA YOU ARE LIVING IN NOW, OR THE AREA WHERE YOU PREVIOUSLY LIVED.
area now
area before
39. ARE YOU THINKING OF MOVING WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR?
YES
NO
40. HAVE YOU MADE ANY DEFINITE PLANS TO MOVE WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR?
YES
NO
41. WHY ARE YOU THINKING OF MOVING?
too many people in unit
apt. too expensive
closer to job
job transfer
end of school
other/state
42. WHEN DO YOU PLAN TO MOVE?
within two months
within six months
within twelve months
43. UPON MOVING WILL YOU REMAIN IN
Edmonton
move to another city in Alberta
Alberta
in Canada
to United States
elsewhere
44. WHICH AREA IN EDMONTON WILL YOU PROBABLY MOVE INTO? (Street if possible.)
45. WOULD YOU BE MORE LIKELY TO MOVE INTO A:
single-family home
walk-up
row-house
high-rise
other/state
46. IF YOU MOVE WOULD YOU EXPECT TO RENT OR BUY?
rent
buy
other/state
47. IF YOU PLAN TO MOVE WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN REASONS?
A.
B.
C.
D.
48. ARE YOU THINKING OF MOVING WITHIN THE NEXT TWO YEARS?
YES
NO
49. HAVE YOU MADE ANY DEFINITE PLANS TO MOVE WITHIN THE NEXT TWO YEARS?
YES
NO
50. WHY ARE YOU THINKING OF MOVING?
too many people in unit
apt. too expensive
closer to job
job transfer
end of school
other/state
51. WHEN DO YOU PLAN TO MOVE?
within twelve months
within eighteen months
within two years
52. UPON MOVING WILL YOU REMAIN IN
Edmonton
move to another city in Alta.
Alberta
Canada
to United States
elsewhere
53. WHICH AREA IN EDMONTON WILL YOU PROBABLY MOVE INTO? (Street if possible.)
54. WOULD YOU BE MORE LIKELY TO MOVE INTO A:
single-family home
walk-up
row-house
high-rise
other/state
55. IF YOU MOVE WOULD YOU EXPECT TO RENT OR TO BUY?
rent
buy
other/state
56. IF YOU PLAN TO MOVE WHAT ARE YOUR MAIN REASONS?
A.
B.
C.
D.
57. WHAT IS YOUR APPROXIMATE GROSS ANNUAL INCOME?
under $5,999.00
$6,000.00- $9,999.00
$10,000.00- $14,999.00
over $15,000.00
58. IF YOU COULD DO AS YOU PLEASE, WOULD YOU LIVE IN A:
walk-up
high-rise
medium-rise
row-house
condominium
single-family
other
do not know
59. WHERE WOULD YOU LIKE THIS IDEAL DWELLING UNIT TO BE LOCATED IN EDMONTON? (General area, if do not know check box)

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDMONTON 7, CANADA

January 30, 1970

Dear

The movement of people into this area has been increasing during the past few years. As part of a graduate thesis I am analysing this movement to determine what attraction this area of Edmonton has for residents. In addition I wish to analyse the past housing patterns of residents, such as yourself and your future housing aspirations. Only one person can offer this information, the apartment dweller. Thus I am seeking your assistance.

Some evening in the near future I will be interviewing the residents in this high rise. I would greatly appreciate the opportunity of interviewing you at that time. Please be assured that the information gained will be held in strict confidence.

Yours sincerely,

Jacqueline Anderson